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From his warm & true Friend:

Francis. Elizth. Gardiner,

March 25th 1869 -

" Eph^s ch. 3. v 14. to end - }
" Jude. verses. 20. 21, 24 & 25. }

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Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Wm. L. G. L. L.

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Wm. L. G. L. L.

THEOPHILUS ANGLICANUS;

OR,

INSTRUCTION FOR THE YOUNG STUDENT,

CONCERNING

The Church,

AND THE

ANGLICAN BRANCH OF IT.

BY

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PREFACE.

A FEW words will suffice to explain the occasion and object of the present Work.

The Master of a Grammar School, in catechizing his scholars in the higher classes, has to contend with a difficulty arising from the want of books suited to his purpose.

It is well known that the *Expositions* of the Catechism of the Church of England, which are in most common use in our Grammar Schools, were not designed for persons who have made any proficiency in the *Greek* or *Latin* languages; and it is obvious, therefore, that these treatises are not able to convey to the *classical student* all that instruction and satisfaction which he could not fail to derive from the application of his literary attainments to the illustration of sacred truth.

It may also be observed, that although the CHURCH CATECHISM, by means of the Ninth and

Tenth Articles of the Apostles' Creed, viz.—The Holy Catholic Church, The Communion of Saints, and The Forgiveness of Sins,—and of the questions which it contains on the Christian Sacraments, naturally leads a Teacher, with the Book of Common Prayer in his hands, to such a series of inquiries concerning the Church generally and Our Own Branch of it in particular, as may be found in the following pages,—yet it would appear to be desirable, that these interrogatories should be put systematically before the eye of the scholar, and that he should receive such instruction concerning them, as is due to his character of an English *Theophilus* receiving a liberal education, and desirous to “know the certainty of the things wherein” he has “been instructed¹.”

The Author trusts that these statements, the truth and importance of which have been for some time forcibly impressed on him by practical experience, may be thought to justify the endeavour of which the result is now before the reader; and also that the considerations, which have been mentioned, may serve to account, not only for the materials here presented to the scholar, but also for the form in which they appear, particularly as regards the extracts annexed to the Answers in the volume.

It will readily be perceived, that these An-

¹ Luke i. 3, 4.

swers are *not intended to be committed to memory*, but that the design is, that the teacher should exercise the scholar, or that the scholar should exercise himself, by first reading a chapter through, translating the extracts as he proceeds, and by then reverting more than once *seriatim* to the questions for subjects of subsequent examination.

Harrow on the Hill,
Oct. 3, 1843.

PRELIMINARY NOTE

CONCERNING THE PASSAGES OF AUTHORS CITED, AND THE
INDEX OF THEM.

THE names of the AUTHORS, from whom the extracts are derived, are printed in SMALL CAPITALS ; and the passages, which begin immediately to follow those names, are Extracts from the Authors whose names are thus printed, except in certain cases where there will not be any ambiguity concerning their origin.

The INDEX of AUTHORS and Places cited is designed to show synoptically the general nature of the testimonies which are added to corroborate the statements in the volume ; and it will also afford the young Scholar, to a certain extent, a knowledge of such authorities as will be of service to him in his future studies. The *Editions* referred to in the citations are specified in the Index. An Index of the SCRIPTURE citations did not appear to be necessary, especially as the references to Scripture are placed, by themselves, on the *margin* of the volume.

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THEOPHILUS ANGLICANUS.

PART I.

On the Church.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE NAME AND ATTRIBUTES OF THE CHURCH.

Q. WHAT is the etymology and meaning of CHAP. I.
the English word CHURCH?

A. It is derived from the Greek word *Κυριακή*, 1 Pet. ii. 5.
a feminine adjective, from *Κύριος*, the *Lord*; and Heb. iii. 6.
it means *Κυριακή οἰκία*, or the *Lord's House* ¹. x. 21.
1 Tim. iii.
15.

¹ CASAUBON, Exercit. Baron. xiii. § xvii. Ecclesias primi Christiani vocabant *Dominica* et *Κυριακά*, unde mansit apud Anglos appellatio *Church*.

HOOKE, Eccl. Pol. V. XIII. 1. VALES. ad Euseb. Laud. Const. xvii. Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix. Bp. BEVERIDGE, ap. Routh, Reliq. Sacræ, iii. 488; and on XXXIX Articles, Art. xix. vol. ii. 98, ed. Oxf. 1840.

The word *Κυριακός* occurs twice in the N. Test. 1 Cor. xi. 20, and Rev. i. 10. *Κυριακή*, in the Eastern Church, is the *Lord's Day*, as *Dominica* and *Dimanche* in the Western. The German *Domkirche*, for the Basilica or Cathedral, seems to be a combination of both the Latin and Greek words for CHURCH, i. e. *Dominicum* (whence *il Duomo* in Italian) and *Κυριακόν*.

Q. Is there not another word, the same both

PART I.

in Greek and Latin, by which CHURCH is expressed?

A. Yes, ECCLESIA.

Q. Whence is this word derived?

A. From the Greek ἐκ, *forth*, and καλέω, *to call*.

Q. How is this word modified in living European languages?

A. In Italian it has become *Chiesa*; in French, *Eglise*; and in Spanish, *Iglesia*.

Q. What did the word *Ecclesia* originally mean?

A. A Public Assembly; and it was specially applied to designate the Popular Assembly¹ at *Athens*, to which all free citizens were convoked, and which was summoned by Presidents (πρυτάνεις), each of whom (as ἐπιστάτης) held in rotation the keys² of the Civic Treasury and Archives and the State Seal.

¹ Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix.

² JULIUS POLLUX, viii. 6. HERMANN'S Manual of Polit. Antiq. of Greece, § 127.

Q. What do you infer from the two words, Κυριακή and Ἐκκλησία, with respect to the character of the Church?

A. That it is the Lord's House, or Common Assembly of His People, presided over by Persons entrusted with certain powers, and to which men are convoked as the Athenians were to their *Ecclesia*¹.

¹ FIELD on the Church, i. 5.

Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix. *note*. Ἐκκλησία is the same with the κλητοί, or the company called and gathered together.

Q. But is not the Christian Church something more than an *Assembly*?

A. Yes, the Church is indeed an *Assembly*, it being *convoked*; but it is a permanent *Society*¹, in that having been convoked it *never* will be *dissolved*. CHAP. I.

¹ HOOKER, III. I. 14. The Church is *always* a Visible *Society* of men.

Q. And this Assembly or Society is presented to us in Holy Scripture under what form?

A. As consisting of believing and baptized persons, continuing “stedfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers;” and who were thus reputed to be Members of the same Church, and to which were added (οἱ σωζόμενοι) such as were being saved¹. Acts ii. 41.
—47. xx. 7.

¹ Bp. PEARSON, Lectiones in Acta Apostolorum, pp. 34, 35, ed. 1688. (in Act. i. 13. ii. 48.) Hæc nobis forma quasi atque imago primæ Ecclesiæ ab Apostolis congregatæ, formatæ, gubernatæ. Fide semel Apostolico sermoni habitâ per Baptismum in Ecclesiam admittebantur; in Ecclesiam admissi Cœtus Publicos frequentabant; in cœtu publico Doctrinæ Apostolorum sedulò attendebant; et Eucharistiæ participes fiebant (*fractione panis*, i. e. Eucharistiâ, p. 34); Publicis denique et Communibus Orationibus in eodem Cœtu factis Deum colebant. Atque ita *Ecclesiis omnibus* usque ad consummationem sæculi *Exemplum* præbebant. Acts ii. 47.
See below,
p. 28.

Q. What are the designations by which the Church is described in the Apostles’ and Constantinopolitan Creeds?

A. It is called ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLIC (μία, ἁγία, καθολικὴ, Ἀποστολική).

Q. How is the Church ONE, or United?

A. Inasmuch as all its members have one God and Father; and are united as sheep of one fold, under one Shepherd, and as members, under Christ their Head, of one Body, into which they are all baptized in one Spirit; and are all par- Ephes. iv. 6.
John x. 16.
Rom. xii. 5.
1 Cor. xii.
12. 20.
1 Cor. xi. 3.
Eph. iv.
2—5.

PART I.

1 Cor. x. 17.

Jude 3.

Col. iii.

12—15.

Acts iv. 32.

1 Pet. iii. 8.

Eph. iv. 3.

Phil. iii. 16.

Acts ii.

41—47.

Rom. xv. 6.

takers of one Bread and of one Cup in the Holy Eucharist; have all one Faith¹, and one Hope of their calling; are of one heart and one soul, loving each other as Brethren, and keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; walking by the same rule, and minding the same thing; united by the same² Apostolic government, discipline, and worship; and all living with this one aim, that they may with one mind and one mouth glorify God³.

¹ S. IREN. adv. Hæreses, i. c. iii. p. 46, Grabe. τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαιμεν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὁλῷ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη παρειλειφύια ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα, καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τοῦτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτὰ κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παραδίδωσιν ὡς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη.

S. CYPRIAN, Unit. Eccles. p. 108, Fell. Ecclesia una est quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur, quomodo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum, et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum, et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copię largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine.

² TERTULLIAN, Apol. 39. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate et spei fœdere.

S. CYPRIAN, ad Antonian. p. 112, Fell. Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. — Ep. lxvi. Florentio, p. 168, Fell. Ecclesia a Christo non recedit, et illi sunt Ecclesia plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens, unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesiâ esse et Ecclesiam in Episcopo; et si qui cum Episcopo non sint in Ecclesiâ non esse, et frustra sibi blandiri eos qui pacem cum sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt et latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt; quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata.

S. CYPRIAN, ad Cornel. Ep. 52. Nec remanere in Ecclesiâ

possunt qui Deificam et Ecclesiasticam Disciplinam nec actûs sui conversatione nec morum pace tenuerunt.

HOOKE, III. I. 4. and 14. See below, chaps. ix. and x. and Pt. ii. ch. vi.

³ BARROW on the Unity of the Church, p. 297, ed. 1683.

PALMER on the Church, ch. iv. v.

Q. How is the Church HOLY?

A. In respect of its Head, Christ; of its Holy Calling; of its Holy Baptism, wherein we are created anew after God in righteousness and true holiness; of the Holy Offices performed in it; of the Holiness of Life required from its members; of the "Inheritance, Holy and undefiled," which God has promised to them.

¹ Pet. i. 15, 16.

² Tim. i. 9. Eph. iv. 24.

² Tim. ii. 19. ¹ Pet. i. 4.

Q. What is the derivation and meaning of the term CATHOLIC?

A. *Catholic* is from the Greek adjective καθολικός, *universal*, and is derived from the adverb καθόλου, *throughout*, which is from the preposition κατά, *according to*, and ὅλος, *whole*; and *Catholic* means *diffused throughout the whole*, or ¹ *universal*.

¹ Bp. PEARSON ad S. Ignat. ad Smyrn. 8. "Prima *Catholicæ* Ecclesiæ mentio in Polycarpi Martyrio sub Marco Antonio, secunda in passione Pionii sub Decio," says Valesius; but, as Bp. PEARSON observes, the word had been previously used by S. Ignat. l. c.

Q. How is the Church thus CATHOLIC or UNIVERSAL?

A. In respect of *time* ¹, as enduring throughout all ages, from the beginning till the end of the world. In respect of *place* ², as not limited, like the Jewish Church, to *one* People, but as comprehending those of *all* Nations who are in the main points of religion one and the same. In respect of *Faith* ³ and *Practice*, as teaching all truth, and

Matt. xxviii. 20. xxiv. 31.

Mark xvi. 15. Luke xxiv. 47. Rev. v. 9.

PART I.

as requiring holiness from all; and as ministering, by God's appointment, all His means of spiritual Grace⁴.

¹ S. CYRIL. HIEROS. Catechesis xviii. p. 296, ed. Ven. 1763. Καθολικὴ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἕως περάτων, καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνέλλιπῶς ἅπαντα τὰ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δόγματα περὶ τε ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων πραγμάτων ἐπουρανίων τε καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων εἰς εὐσέβειαν ὑποτάσσειν ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, λογίων τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ καθολικῶς ἰατρεύειν μὲν καὶ θεραπεύειν ἅπαν τὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν εἶδος, τῶν διὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐπιτελουμένων, κεκτήσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ὀνομαζομένης ἀρετῆς ἐν ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς παντοίοις χαρίσμασιν.

² S. AUG. in Ps. lvi. (iv. p. 754, ed. Paris, 1835.) Corpus Christi est Ecclesia, non ista aut illa, sed toto orbe diffusa, nec ea quæ nunc est in hominibus qui præsentem vitam agunt, sed ad eam pertinentibus etiam his qui fuerunt *ante nos* et his qui futuri sunt *post nos* usque *ad finem sæculi*. Tota enim Ecclesia constans ex omnibus fidelibus, quia fideles omnes sunt membra Christi, habet illud Caput positum in cælis, quod gubernat corpus suum.

³ S. IREN. v. xx. p. 430. Ecclesiæ quidem prædicatio vera et firma, apud quam una et eadem salutis via in universo mundo ostenditur. Huic enim creditum est lumen Dei.— Ubique enim Ecclesia prædicat veritatem.

⁴ Archbp. CRANMER, Works, iv. p. 278, ed. Jenkyns, *De Ecclesiâ*. Bp. BULL, Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in Answer to the Bp. of Meaux's (Bossuet's) Queries. Works, ii. p. 243, ed. Burton. Archbishop POTTER on Church Government, p. 29, ed. 1724. Archdn. MANNING, Unity of the Church, pp. 21—30.

See below, chap. iv. p. 26—29.

Q. Are the members of any *particular* or national Church (for example, of Italy, Greece, France, England, &c.) rightly called *Catholics*?

A. Yes; being Members of the Universal Church of Christ, they are Catholics¹, *generally*;

or, more *particularly*, Italian Catholics, Greek Catholics, French Catholics, and English or Anglo-Catholics. CHAP. I.

¹ S. PACIAN, Ep. 1, ad Sempronian. Christianus mihi nomen, *Catholicus* cognomen; illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit.

Q. And what thence do you conclude concerning the claim often preferred by the Church of Rome to be called *the Catholic Church*?

A. The Church of Rome is a *part* of the Catholic Church, as the other Churches before mentioned are; but neither the Church of Rome ¹, nor the Church of England, nor the Greek Church, nor any other *particular* Church, is *the Catholic or Universal Church* ², any more than a *Branch* is a *Tree*, or a *Hand* is the *whole Body*.

¹ S. HIERON. ad Evag. lxxxv. Et Galliæ, et Britannia, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. Si auctoritas quæritur, ORBIS major est Urbe.

CASAUBON, ad Cardinal. Perron. Epistol. p. 493, ed. 1709. Romana, Græca, Antiochena, Ægyptia, Abyssina, Moscovitica, et plures aliæ *membra* sunt Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.—Mirandum igitur Romanam Ecclesiam jus omne Universitatis ad se trahere, appellationem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sibi propriam facere, et reliquas omnes quæ in ullâ re a se dissentiant excludere communione suâ ac statim illas ad Catholicam nihil pertinere audacter affirmare.

NECESSARY DOCTRINE and Erudition for any Christian Man, Art. ix. A.D. 1543. And therefore the Church of Rome, being but a *several* Church, challenging that name of *Catholic above all other*, doeth great-wrong to *all other Churches*, and doeth only by force support an unjust usurpation: for that Church hath no more right to that name than the Church of France, Spain, England, or Portugal, which be justly called Catholic Churches.

PART I.

² THEOPHYLACT ad 1 Cor. xii. 27. τὴν ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἧς τὸ σῶμα συνέστηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν.

See below, Pt. ii. ch. i. and Pt. ii. ch. viii.

Q. How is the Church APOSTOLICAL?

A. As built on the foundation of the Apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the Chief Corner Stone; as continuing stedfastly in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in communion with them and their *lawful* successors¹.

Ephes. ii. 20.

Acts ii. 42.

¹ Revel. xxi. 14. And the wall of the city had *twelve* foundations (foundation-stones, θεμελίους, sc. λίθους), and in them the names of the *Twelve Apostles* of the Lamb.

S. IGNAT. ad Smyrn. 8. Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω . . . οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

TERTULLIAN, de Bapt. c. 17. Dandi quidem (Baptismum) habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus; dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate.

S. OPTATUS, II. 2. and 28. IV. 3. VI. 2.

See below, Pt. i. ch. ix. and x. p. 71. Pt. ii. ch. vi. p. 179. and ch. ix. p. 216.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE CHURCH AS VISIBLE AND MILITANT, AND AS INVISIBLE AND TRIUMPHANT.

Q. How did you become a Member of this One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church?

Acts viii. 36.

Matt. xxviii.

19.

A. By Baptism¹ with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

¹ HOOKER, III. I. 6. Entered we are not into the visible church before our admittance by the *door* of Baptism.

Bp. PEARSON in Acta Apostolorum, p. 33. (in Act. ii. 41.) Hi per Baptismum recipiebantur in Ecclesiam Christi, neque alio modo unquam recipi potuerunt aut Christiani fieri; quicquid in contrarium nuper deliravit Socinus. CHAP. II.

Q. Are all, who have been duly baptized, to be considered as continuing thenceforward in a state of Grace, and in the way to Salvation?

A. No. They were placed at Baptism in a state of Grace, and in the way to Salvation; but Baptism did not destroy their free will¹. A man may quench the Spirit, and reject the good counsel of God towards himself (εἰς ἑαυτόν). Eph. iv. 30.
2 Tim. i. 6.
1 Thess.
v. 19.
Luke vii. 30.

¹ S. AUGUSTIN, Tract. v. In Epist. Joannis, 6. Ecce accessit *Sacramentum nativitatis* homo baptizatus; Sacramentum habet, et magnum Sacramentum, divinum, sanctum, ineffabile. Considera quale: ut novum hominem faciat dimissione omnium peccatorum. Attendat tamen in cor, si perfectum est ibi, quod factum est in corpore: videat si habet charitatem, et tunc dicat, *Natus sum ex Deo*. See also contra Faustum, xix. xii.

HOOKE, V. LVII. 4. Sacraments are not physical, but moral instruments of salvation; duties of service and worship which, unless we perform as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable. Ibid. LIX. 2. LX. 2.

WATERLAND, Regeneration Stated and Explained, Works, vi. 361.

Q. You have before said, (p. 5,) that the Church is *Holy*; may there, then, be *evil* men in the Church?

A. Yes. "All are not Israel who are of Israel." Rom. ix. 6.

Q. Will this state of things continue to the end of the world? and ii. 28.

A. Yes. "¹ On *earth* the evil will ever be mingled with the good."

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxvi. HOOKE, III. i. 8.

Q. How do you show this?

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A. From the figures and parables by which the Church is described in Holy Scripture.

Q. Mention some of these.

Gen. vi. 19.
1 Pet. iii. 20.

Jos. xv. 63.
Judges i. 21.
Matt. x.
2-4.

A. The Church is the Ark¹, in which were clean and unclean animals; the Holy City, in which Jebusites remained mixed with God's faithful people: the Apostolic Company, in which was Judas, as well as Peter, James, and John.

¹ S. HIERON. adv. Lucifer. p. 428, ed. 1643. Ut in Arcâ Noe pardus et hædi, lupus et agni, sic in Ecclesiâ peccatores et justi . . . Dies me deficiet si omnia Arcæ Sacramenta cum Ecclesiâ componens edisseram.

S. AUGUSTIN, Epist. cviii. ii. p. 471. Agnoscamus Arcam quæ præfiguravit Ecclesiam; simul illic munda animalia simus; nec in eâ nobiscum etiam immunda portari usque in finem diluvii recusemus. Simul in arcâ fuerunt, sed non simul in odorem sacrificiî de immundis obtulit Noë. Nec ideò tamen a mundis aliquibus arca ante tempus propter immunda deserta est.—*Corvus tantum arcam deseruit.*

OFFICE of Public Baptism, in the Book of Common Prayer. Wash *him* and sanctify *him* with the Holy Ghost, that he being delivered from Thy wrath may be received into the Ark of Christ's Church.

See below, p. 11 and 27.

Q. You thence infer that a Church does not cease to be a Church by reason of the bad lives of some of its Members?

1 Cor. i. 2.
iii. 3. v. 1.
vi. 6. iv. 18.
xv. 12.

A. I do. St. Paul recognizes the Christian Society at Corinth to be a *Church*, although it contained within it, as he himself says, contentious persons, carnal, envious, striving, fornicators, litigious, insubordinate, and sceptics concerning the Resurrection; and he calls the Galatians a *Church*, though some of their number had relapsed into Judaistical opinions. So the Church of Pergamus contained Nicolaitans, that of Thya-

Gal. i. 6.
iv. 21.

tira a Jezebel; and that of Laodicea was lukewarm; yet they were still *Churches*¹.

CHAP. II.

Rev. ii. 15.
20. iii. 16.

¹ S. HIERON. adv. Lucifer. p. 429. Galatas ad observationem legis traductos Apostolus iterum parturit; Corinthios resurrectionem carnis non credentes pluribus argumentis ad verum iter trahere conatur . . . Angelo Ephesi deserta charitas imputatur. In Angelo Pergamenæ Ecclesiæ idolothytorum esus et Nicolaitarum doctrina reprehenditur. Item apud Angelum Thyatirorum Hiezabel prophetissa et simulacrorum escæ et fornicationes increpantur. Et tamen *omnes hos ad Pœnitentiam* Dominus hortatur sub comminatione quoque futuræ pœnæ nisi convertantur . . . Numquid dixit, *Rebaptizentur*, qui in Nicolaitarum fide baptizati sunt?

HOOKE, V. LXVIII. 6.

Q. You mentioned Scripture Parables; how then does this appear from any of them?

A. Our Blessed Lord describes the Church under the similitude of a Field in which Wheat and Tares (i. e. ζιζάνια, which closely resemble the wheat) remain growing together until the Harvest. The Church is the Threshing-floor, in which lie Grains and Chaff mixed together¹ (the chaff often parting and obscuring the grain); a Fold, with both Sheep and Goats; a Net, in which are enclosed Fish of every kind, both good and bad; a Marriage Feast, with Guests both bad and good; a Vine, with fruitful and unfruitful branches; St. Peter's Sheet² let down from heaven, containing clean and unclean beasts; a great House, in which are vessels not only of gold and silver, but also of wood, some to honour, and some to dishonour³.

Matt. xiii.
30.
Is. v. 2.
See below;
Pt. iii.
ch. iii.
Matt. iii. 12.
Matt. xxv.
32.
Matt. iv. 19.
xiii. 47.
Matt. xxii.
10.
John xv. 1.
Acts x. 11.
St. Aug. in
John viii.
35.
2 Tim. ii. 20.
Catena in
Act. Oxon.
1838, p. 175.
177.

¹ FULGENT. de Fide ad Petrum, c. 43. Firmissimè tene *Aream Dei esse Catholicam Ecclesiam*, et intra eam usque in finem seculi *frumento mixtas paleas* contineri, hoc est bonis malos Sacramentorum communione misceri.

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² S. AUGUST. contra Faust. lib. xii. 15. Quod cuncta animalium genera in *arcâ* clauduntur : sicut omnes gentes quas etiam *Petro* demonstratus *discus* ille significat, Ecclesia continet. Quod et munda et immunda ibi sunt animalia : sicut in Ecclesiæ Sacramentis et boni et mali versantur.

³ S. CYPRIAN, ad Antonian. Ep. lv. p. 112.

S. AUGUSTIN, in S. Joann. Evangel. 61. De Fide et Oper. c. v. et in Ps. viii. et lv. et in Tichonii Regulam de *permixtâ Ecclesiâ*, t. iii. p. 101, ed. Paris. Contra Faustum, viii. p. 386.

HOOKE, V. LXVIII. 6. Heresy and many other crimes, which wholly sever from God, do sever from the (Visible) Church of God in part only. To this, and no other purpose, are meant those *Parables* which our Saviour in the Gospel hath concerning mixture of vice with virtue, light with darkness, truth with error.

See below, p. 13, and p. 261, and Pt. iii. ch. iii.

Q. What are the moral and religious lessons to be learnt from this *mixed and imperfect* state of things?

A. We are to consider it as an exercise of our Faith. The *present mixture* ought to make us look forward to the time of *final separation*. The *Field* ought to remind us of the *Harvest*. We ought to carry our thoughts from the earthly *Threshing-floor* to the heavenly *Garner* ; from the present *union* of the Sheep and Goats to their future *severance* ; from the *Net*, we should look to the *Shore* to which it is to be one day drawn. This state of things is also to teach us other lessons, with respect to our fellow-men.

Q. What are these ?

A. We are to learn from it the duties of bearing and forbearing¹ ; of remembering, that while there are many *bad* men in the Church, who *do appear*, there are many *good* ones who are *not*

¹ Kings xix. 18.
Rom. xi. 4.

known to men as such; of taking care, that while we communicate with *sinful men*, we do not communicate with them in any *sin*²; of not disparaging or condemning a Church, much less of *separating*³ ourselves from it, for the errors or vices of some of its members, but of endeavouring to promote its general welfare, and the repentance and amendment of particular members, by our prayers and our example.

¹ S. AUG. iv. 497 (addressing the Donatists). *Tolera et zizania si triticum es; tolera paleam si triticum es; tolera pisces malos inter retia si piscis bonus es. Quare ante tempus ventilationis avolasti? Quare ante tempus messis frumenta eradicasti tecum? quare, antequam ad littus venires, retia disruptisti?* S. AUG. v. 129. *Geme in areâ ut gaudeas in horreo.*

² S. AUGUST. Epist. cv. 16. Quos autem corrigere non valemus, etiamsi necessitas cogit pro salute cæterorum ut Dei Sacramenta nobiscum communicent, *peccatis* tamen eorum non communicemus, quod non fit nisi *consentiendo et favendo*. Sic enim eos in isto mundo, in quo Ecclesia catholica per omnes gentes diffunditur, quem *agrum suum* Dominus dicit, tanquam *zizania* inter *triticum*, vel in hac unitatis areâ tanquam *paleam* permixtam *frumento*, vel intra *retia* verbi et sacramenti tanquam *malos pisces* cum *bonis* inclusos, usque ad tempus *messis* aut *ventilationis* aut *littoris* toleramus, ne propter illos eradicemus et triticum, aut grana nuda ante tempus de areâ separata, non in horreum mittenda purgemus, sed volatilibus colligenda projiciamus; aut disruptis per schismata retibus, dum quasi malos pisces cavemus, in mare perniciosæ libertatis exeamus.

³ S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccles. p. 111. Nemo existimet *bonos* Ecclesiâ posse discedere. Triticum non rapit ventus; *inanes paleæ tempestate jactantur*. S. CYPRIAN, Epist. LIV. p. 99. Nam etsi videntur in Ecclesiâ esse *zizania*, non tamen impediri debet aut fides aut caritas nostra, ut, quoniam *zizania* esse in Ecclesiâ cernimus, ipsi de Ecclesiâ recedamus. *Nobis* tantummodo laborandum est ut *frumentum*

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esse possimus, ut, cum cœperit frumentum Dominicis horreis condi, fructum pro opere nostro et labore capiamus. Apostolus in Epistolâ suâ dicit: *In domo autem magnâ non solum vasa sunt aurea, et argentea, sed et lignea, et fictilia, et quædam quidem honorata, quædam vero inhonorata. Nos operam demus, et quantum possumus laboremus, ut vas aureum vel argenteum simus: ceterum fictilia vasa confringere Domino soli concessum est, Cui et virga ferrea data est.*

IDEM, Ep. LIV. p. 99.

Q. By what name is the Church called, in this condition upon earth?

A. It is called the *Visible Church*.

Q. Why is it so called?

A. Because it is a Visible "Congregation of faithful" or believing persons, "in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the *Sacraments* are duly administered¹ according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same," and which enjoys the right use of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*².

¹ S. AUG. Brev. Coll. 3. Ecclesia est corpus vivum in quâ est Anima et Corpus: Anima significat interna dona Spiritûs Sancti; Corpus vero externam fidei professionem et sacramentorum communionem.

XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xix. HOOKER, III. I. 14.

² HOMILIES, p. 428. (Homily on Whitsunday.) See the passage cited below, chap. xiii. p. 118.

King EDWARD VIth's Catechism, 1553. The Marks of this Church are, first, pure preaching of the Gospel; then brotherly love; thirdly, upright and uncorrupted use of the Lord's Sacraments; last of all, brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church that will not amend their lives. This mark the holy fathers termed *discipline*.—See also Certain Conferences between Ridley and Latimer, A.D. 1555, and Hooper's Fifth Sermon on Jonas.

Hence it appears, that although in her nineteenth Article cited above, the Church of England has specified only the two marks of Sacraments and the Word of God, yet she does not

regard them as *sufficient* of themselves to constitute a visible Church, without the additional note of *discipline* and *government*, concerning which it may be well to cite the words of CASSANDER on the Augsburg Confession, Art. vii. Quod autem subjicitur, ad veram Ecclesiæ unitatem satis esse consentire de *doctrinâ evangelii* et *administratione sacramentorum*, id *non satis* est ad schismaticos ab Ecclesiæ societate segregandos. Requiritur ad hanc unitatem Ecclesiæ præter *doctrinæ* et *morum* similitudinem etiam *unitas* animorum in quâ potissimum spectanda est obedientia quæ debetur Ecclesiarum Præfectis, qui inde usque ab Apostolis per successionem Ecclesiam Dei gubernandam et verbo vitæ pascendam susceperunt, qui etsi non semper eâdem fide officium suum præstiterunt, in illis tamen quæ officii sunt obtemperari illis necessum est, *tum in auditu veræ doctrinæ*, *tum in legitimo usu sacramentorum*, *tum in disciplinâ et correctione ecclesiasticâ*.—Hanc *tertiam* notam necessario requiri etiam hujus Confessionis (Augustanæ) auctor postea agnovit, qui multis in locis, ubi de signis Ecclesiæ agit, tertio loco addit *obedientiam* debitam ministerio Evangelii seu Catholicæ Ecclesiæ.

GROTII Opera, iii. p. 566-7. See also his own adhesion to Cassander's remarks on this subject, *ibid.* p. 617.

Q. For any other reason?

A. Yes, as distinguished from the *Invisible*¹ Church.

¹ S. HIERON. ad Galat. i. p. 120. Noscendum Ecclesiam dupliciter dici posse, et eam quæ non habeat maculam et rugam et vere corpus Christi sit, et eam quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur.

Archbishop CRANMER, Works, iv. p. 278.

Bp. TAYLOR, x. p. 333, ed. 1828.

BARROW on the Unity of the Church, p. 296.

Q. What do you mean by the *Invisible* Church?

A. I mean the family of God, both in earth and heaven; the city of the living God; the Spouse of Christ, without spot or wrinkle; the mystical Body of Christ, whose members are known to

Eph. ii. 19.

Heb. xii.

22, 23.

Rev. iii. 12.

John iii. 29.

Rev. xxi. 2.

xix. 7.

Eph. v. 27.

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Rom. xii. 1.

Eph. iv.

11—16.

Col. ii. 19.

John x. 14.

2 Tim. ii. 19.

Luke x. 20.

¹ HOOKER, III. I. II. 4—8. That body consisteth only of true Israelites, true sons of Abraham, true servants and saints of God. VIII. I. 6.

Q. You speak of the Visible and Invisible Church; are there then *two* Churches?

A. No: these two terms describe *not two* Churches, but the one Church considered in two different states. The Church is *visible*, in that it *contains* persons existing only on *earth*, and known to *men* by certain visible tokens: it is *invisible*, in that it *consists* of persons *both* in *heaven* and *earth*, *from the beginning to the end of the world*, known to God ¹, but *not* clearly distinguishable by *men*. The Church is visible as far only as it is seen by men; it is invisible, as it is known by God. The former contains both bad and good; the latter consists of good only. In the former are *wheat* and *chaff*, *wheat* and *tares*, mixed together; in the latter, *wheat* alone. The one is the Church of the Called, the other of the Elect only ².

John x. 14.

27.

1 Cor. viii. 3.

2 Tim. ii. 19.

Matt. xx. 16.

Rev. xvii.

14.

¹ S. AUGUSTIN in Evangel. Joannis Tract. xii. 12. *Novit enim Dominus qui sunt Ejus*: novit qui permaneant ad coronam, qui permaneant ad flammam; novit in areâ suâ triticum, novit paleam; novit segetem, novit zizania.

S. AUGUSTIN, Breviculus Collat. 3. 10. Eadem ipsa una et sancta Ecclesia nunc est aliter, tunc autem aliter futura; nunc habet malos mixtos, tunc non est habitura.

² HOOKER, III. I. 9. For lack of diligent observing the difference, first, between the Church of God *Mystical* and the Church *Visible*; then, between the Visible (Church) sound, and (the same Visible Church) corrupted, sometimes more and sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed.

Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix. One and the same Church, in relation to different times, admitteth or not admitteth the permixtion of the wicked, or the imperfection of the godly. CHAP. II.

Q. By what other name is the Church on earth known? Eph. vi. 10,
11, 12.

A. It is sometimes called the Church *Militant*, as existing in a State of *Warfare* against evil, and as distinguished from what it will be in its future condition as *Triumphant* or *Glorified*. Heb. xii. 22.
Rev. ii. 10.
26. vii. 9.

Q. Is there any *one single Visible Head* of the Church on earth?

A. No. CHRIST is the Head of all Principality and Power; He is over all things to the Church, which is His Spouse, and has no other Head or Husband but Christ. He only "that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom¹." He is the Chief Pastor. If Christ had appointed any one Visible Head over His Church, it is unaccountable that we should find nothing in Scripture concerning our own duty to this Supreme Head, where so much is said of our duty to *temporal* governors, and to our spiritual Guides. But Christ never appointed any one Visible Head of the Catholic Church, any more than He did One Visible Monarch of the whole world; nor did the Christian Church ever hear of any supremacy over itself in one man, for six hundred years from the birth of Christ²; and when that supremacy began to be asserted, it brought with it great and innumerable calamities³. Col. ii. 10.
Ephes. i. 22.
John iii. 29.
x. 11.
1 Pet. v. 4.
Matt. xxiii.
9.

¹ THEOPHYLACT in S. Joan. iii. Οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐστὶ νυμφίος εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Χριστός, πάντες δὲ οἱ διδάσκοντες νυμφαγωγοὶ εἰσιν ὥσπερ ὁ πρόδρομος· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλος δοτήρ

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ἐστι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰ μὴ ὁ Κύριος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες μεσίται καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου δεδομένων ἀγαθῶν διάκονοι.

² CARDINAL CUSANUS, de Concord. Eccles. ii. 34. Hoc (inquit Gregorius) temerarium nomen nullus adhuc Romanus Pontifex sibi arripuit. Sed Bonifacius III., qui fuit secundus a Gregorio, magnâ contentione demum a Phoca id obtinuit, ut Roma caput omnium Ecclesiarum diceretur, teste Platina in Bonif. III.

CRANKHOPPE, Def. Eccl. Anglic. p. 167.

Bp. BULL, ii. 242. If a Visible Head were *necessary*, the Church did *not exist* for the *first six centuries after Christ*, during which that title was never heard of.

³ HOOKER, VIII. III. 6. See note p. 22.

Bp. OVERALL'S Convocation Book, pp. 285—306.

Abp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. 26. The Church of England does not believe there is any necessity to have one Pope or Bishop over the whole Christian world; which, were it possible, she cannot think fit.

LESLIE, Letter on an Universal Bishop, xi. Christ appointed no universal Bishop over his Church, more than an universal monarch over the world.

See below, Pt. ii. ch. ix. p. 255—259.

Q. But since the Church is *always* a Visible Society of men, united by visible tokens (above, p. 14), and since every Society requires a governing power for its own preservation, what is the power which governs the Visible Church?

A. The Church, as a whole, is subject, under Christ, to the Laws given her in Holy Scripture, and to those laws which (not contrary to Scripture) have been enacted by her for herself, and which have been generally received and put in use in the Church.

Q. But Laws require living Interpreters and Executors: who then have this power in the Church?

A. The Bishops of the Church, convened in

General and Provincial Councils ; each having free and full spiritual jurisdiction in that *National Church*¹, or *portion* of it, committed to his charge. CHAP. II.

¹ Bp. OVERALL'S CONVOC. Book, ed. Lond. 1690. p. 256. We have before laboured to make it manifest, that our Saviour Christ is the Creator of the world, and the Governor of it ; that He hath redeemed and sanctified unto Himself His Church, whereof He is the sole Monarch ; that He hath neither appointed any one Emperour under Him to govern the whole world, nor any one Priest or Archbishop to rule the whole *Catholic Church* ; that, as in respect of Christ, the Creator, all the World is but one Kingdom, whereof He is the only King ; so in respect of Christ our Redeemer, all that believe in His name, wheresoever they are dispersed, are but one *Catholic Church* ; and that the said one *Catholic Church* is not otherwise visible in this world, than is the said one universal kingdom of Christ, the Creator of it, viz. by the several and distinct parts of them, as by *this* or that *National Church*, by this or that temporal kingdom. For our Saviour Christ, having made the external government of His Catholic Church, suitable to the government of His universal monarchy over all the world, hath, by the institution of the Holy Ghost, ordered to be placed in every kingdom, Archbishops, Bishops, and inferior Ministers, to govern the *particular Churches* therein planted as He hath in like manner appointed Kings and Sovereign Princes, with their inferior Magistrates of divers sorts, to rule and govern His people under Him, in every Kingdom, Country, and Sovereign Principality. See also MASON, De Ministerio Anglicano, p. 278, 279. 419. 425. CASAUBON, de Lib. Eccl. c. 11. Epist. p. 179. BARROW, de Pot. Clavium, vol. iv. p. 46—49.

Bp. STILLINGFLEET'S Rational Account of the Grounds of Protest. Relig. fol. 1665, p. 301—303, on the words of St. Cyprian, "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur." When Cyprian makes the universal government of the Church to be but *one Episcopal office*, and that committed in the several parts of it with *full power* to particular Bishops, can any one be so senseless to imagine that he should ever think the government of the Church

PART I. in general to depend upon *any one particular Church as chief over the rest*? And that the former words do really import such a full power in particular Bishops, over that part of the flock which is committed to them, appears from the true import of the phrase *in solidum*; a phrase taken out of the civil law, where great difference is made between an obligation *in partem* and *in solidum*, and so proportionably between a tenure *in partem* and *in solidum*: those things were held *in solidum*, which were held in full right and power without payment or acknowledgment. And in this speech he compares the government of the Church to an estate held by *several freeholders*, in which every one hath a full right to that *share* which belongs to him. Whereas, according to the Romish principle, the government of the Church is like a manor or lordship, in which the several inhabitants hold at the best, but by copy from the Lord, and they would fain have it *at the will of the Lord too*.

Q. And have the Bishops the power of putting these Laws in force?

A. Yes, *in foro conscientiæ*, by spiritual censures.

See note to next question, and below, ch. xiii. xiv. and Pt. iii. chaps. v. vi. vii.

Q. But since the Church, as such, has *no secular* power, how can these laws have any temporal effects?

A. Christ, as Creator, Redeemer, and Governor of the world, has delegated to every supreme Governing power, in a Christian State, an *external* superintending, directing, and controlling jurisdiction, with the exercise of which no *foreign* Prelate, Prince, or Potentate, can interfere. This jurisdiction is what the Emperor Constantine called that of an *Episcopus ab extra*¹; and it consists, not only in maintaining and endowing the Church of Christ in its own dominions, but in regulating and governing it²; not however after any *new* code of Laws, but of those of God and of

the Church. And so Christ has provided for the maintenance of Unity in the Church, by the distinct though concurrent exercise of the spiritual and temporal Powers, and not by the commission of both or of either of them to the hands of *one* man³. CHAP. II.

¹ GERHARD, *Loci Communes*, VI. p. 589. Distinguendum inter *potestatem Ecclesiasticam internam et externam*, quæ distinctio colligitur ex verbis Constantini apud Euseb. lib. iv. de vitâ Constant. c. 24. *Vos Episcopi in Ecclesiâ, ego extra Ecclesiam seu templum Episcopus à Deo constitutus sum*; illa ministris Ecclesiæ in solidum relinquitur, hæc vero magistratui Christiano communis est: Distinguendum *inter eorum, quæ ad divinum cultum pertinent, administrationem et externam eorundem dispositionem*; illa ministrorum Ecclesiæ est; hæc verò magistratûs. Minister prædicat verbum, utitur gladio Spiritûs, et ore pugnat adversus hostes et impios; magistratus custodit verbi præcones et confessores, vibrat gladium contra hostes Christianæ Reipublicæ et manu armatâ eosdem oppugnat. Ut ergò *oris et manuum* ministeria distincta manent, licet ad eundem finem, *corporis* scilicet incolumitatem, conspirent, sic Ministerii Ecclesiastici et Magistratûs politici officia distincta manent, licet ad *eundem finem* Reipubl. sc. Christianæ, quæ itidem mysticum aliquod *corpus* constituit, salutem, tutelam et incolumitatem utraque sint directa.

² Bp. OVERALL'S Convoc. Book, p. 262. Under such a form of Ecclesiastical Government the Christian Magistrate is become to be, as the chief member of the Church, so the chief Governour of it; to keep as well the said Archbishops within their bounds and limits, as all the rest of the Clergy, and Christians, Bishops, Ministers, and Parishioners, that every one, in their several places, may execute and discharge their distinct offices and duties which are committed unto them. See also Bp. Beveridge on XXXIX Articles, Art. xxxvii. and below, Pt. iii. ch. v. and vi.

³ HOOKER, VIII. III. 5. Dissimilitude in great things is such a thing which draweth great inconvenience after it. And the way to prevent it is, not as some do imagine, the yielding up of supreme power over all churches

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into *one only pastor's hands*; but the framing of their government, especially for matter of substance, everywhere according to the rule of one only law, to stand in no less force than the law of nations doth, to be received in all kingdoms. This shall cause uniformity even under several dominions, without those woeful inconveniences whereunto the state of Christendom was subject heretofore, through the tyranny and oppression of that one universal Nimrod who alone ruled all.

And, till the Christian world be driven to enter into the peaceable and true consultation about some such kind of general law concerning those things of weight and moment wherein now we differ, if one Church hath not the same order which another hath, let *every Church keep as near as may be the order it should have, and commend the just defence thereof* unto God, even as Judah did, when it differed in the exercise of religion from that form which Israel followed.

See further on this subject, below, Pt. ii. ch. ix. toward the end.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DIGNITY AND GLORY OF THE CHURCH.

Q. BY whom was the Church founded?

A. By Jesus Christ.

Q. For what purpose?

A. In order that by it might be known the manifold wisdom of God, and that in it, by the salvation of men, there might be glory to Him for ever.

Q. Whence appears the dignity and glory of the Christian Church?

A. From the titles before mentioned (chap. I.), which indicate her Unity, Holiness, and Universality: from the promises made to her by God, that "all the Gentiles should come to her light;"

Matt. xvi.

18.

Acts xx. 28.

1 Cor. xi.

16.

Eph. iii.

10, 11. 21.

that "Kings should be her nursing Fathers, and Queens her nursing Mothers;" that "no weapon formed against her should prosper;" that "the Nation and Kingdom which will not serve her should perish and be utterly wasted;" and from other expressions by which she is described in Holy Writ, so that, therefore, the Psalmist says, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of God."

CHAP. III.
Is. lx. 3. 10.
xlix. 23. liv.
17. lx. 12.
Ps. lxxxvii.
3.

LOWTH on Isaiah lxii. 1—12, and notes on Hosea ii. 19.
S. AUG. de Civ. Dei, xvii. 28—35.

Q. Mention some of these expressions?

A. She is there called the Body and Spouse¹ of Christ, the King's Daughter, the Queen at the right hand of the Messiah, the Lord's Vineyard, the Kingdom of Heaven, of God, of Grace, of Light; the Mountain of the Lord, to which all nations shall flow; the House built on a Rock, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, the City of God, the Jerusalem which is above, which is the Mother of us all.

Rom. xii. 1.
5.
1 Cor. vi.
15. x. 17.
xii. 12. 27.
Rev. xix. 7.
xxi. 2.
xxii. 17.
Micah iv.
1, 2.
Eph. i. 23.
iv. 12.
v. 23. 30.
Ps. xlv.
9, 10.
Matt. xx. 1.
Is. v. 1.
Ps. lxxx. 8.
Matt. iv. 17.
xvi. 19.
xx. 1.
Dan. ii. 44.
Col. i. 13.
Is. ii. 2.
Matt. xvi.
18. vii. 24.
1 Tim. iii.
15.
Heb. xii. 22.
Gal. iv. 26.

¹ Bp. TAYLOR, Sermon xvii. The Marriage Ring, v. p. 254. *This is a great mystery*, but it is the symbolical and sacramental representation of the greatest mysteries of our religion. Christ descended from His Father's bosom, and contracted His Divinity with flesh and blood, and married our nature, and we became a Church, the Spouse of the Bridegroom, which He cleansed with His blood, and gave her His Holy Spirit for a dowry, and Heaven for a jointure; begetting children unto God by the Gospel. This Spouse He hath joined to Himself by an excellent charity; He feeds her at His own table, and lodges her nigh His own heart; provides for all her necessities, relieves her sorrows, determines her doubts, guides her wanderings; He is become her Head, and she as a signet upon His right Hand. Here is the eternal conjunction, the indissoluble knot, the exceed-

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ing love of Christ, the obedience of the Spouse, the communicating of goods, the uniting of interests, the fruit of marriage, a celestial generation, a new creature. *Sacramentum hoc magnum est*; this is the Sacramental mystery, represented by the *holy rite of Marriage*.

Q. But do not these latter titles refer to the *Invisible Church*, purified and glorified in heaven?

Eph. ii. 6.
Col. i. 12.

A. They do indeed specially belong to the Church, as she will be *hereafter* in a state of bliss; but they appertain also to the Universal Church upon Earth, for they describe that which she *is* in tendency, in endeavour, in desire, and in expectation¹.

¹ BARROW, Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church, pp. 296-7, ed. 1683.

CHAPTER IV.

ON SALVATION ONLY IN THE CHURCH.

Q. We have seen that the Visible Church is a *Society*, and since every Society has some essential *characteristic* by which it is distinguished from other Societies, what is that by which the Church is discerned?

A. The profession of the *true Religion*¹.

¹ HOOKER, V. LXVIII. 6. Of the Visible Church of Christ in this present world, we are thus persuaded; *Church* is a word which art hath devised thereby to sever and distinguish that society of men which professeth the *true religion* from the rest which profess it not.

Q. And what is the essential characteristic of this profession of the true Religion?

A. It is faith in our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which

distinguishes the *true* Religion from the *false*; and separates the Church from all other societies of men, such as Pagans, Jews, Mahometans, Infidels, and Apostates¹. Hence it is that when a *name* was to be given to the members of the Church, to distinguish them from all others, they were called *Christians*. CHAP. IV.
Acts xi. 26.

¹ HOOKER, V. LXVIII. 6. There have been in the world, from the very first foundation thereof, but three religions, Paganism, which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved nature, Judaism, embracing the law which reformed heathenish impiety, and taught salvation to be looked for through one whom God in the last days would send and exalt to be Lord of all; [and Mahometanism, see Bp. Andrewes, Catechist. Doctr. p. 34;] finally, Christian belief, which yieldeth obedience to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth Him the Saviour whom God did promise . . . Seeing, then, that *the Church* is a name which art hath given to *professors of true religion*, religion being a matter partly of *contemplation*, partly of *action*, we must define the Church, which is a religious society, by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon because the *only object* which separateth ours from other religions is *Jesus Christ*, and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the Apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, accounting them "which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" to be His Church.

If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not *properly* of the *being*, but make only for the *happier and better* being of the Church of God, either in deed or in men's opinions and conceits. This is the *error* of all *popish definitions* that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church *essentially is*, but by that wherein *they imagine their*

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own more perfect than the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the Unity that ought to be in the Church of Christ, which notwithstanding may have not only without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in rites and ceremonies of religion, but also her strifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no small importance, yea, her schisms, factions, and such other evils, whereunto the body of the Church is subject, sound and sick remaining both of the same body, as long as both parts retain, by outward profession, that vital substance of truth which maketh Christian religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour of mankind, give no credit to His glorious Gospel, and have His sacraments, the seals of eternal life, in derision. See also Bp. SAUNDERSON, Sermon. iii. 26. (on 1 Pet. ii. 17.)

Q. If we desire to be saved, is it necessary, that, if we are able, we should be members of the Christian Church?

A. It is ¹.

¹ S. CYPRIAN, Ep. iv. p. 9. Domus Dei una est; et nemini Salus nisi in Ecclesiâ esse potest. See also S. AUG. III. 1985, 1992, 2027.

Q. How does this necessity appear?

Ps. lxxvii. 7.
Is. xxv. 6.
xxxvii. 32.
Ezek. xiii. 9.
Joel ii. 32.
Eph. iv. 11.

A. From the nature of the case. Christ Himself having instituted a *Society* on earth, in which men are to receive the means of ¹ grace and salvation, and having revealed no *other* way to this end, they who *will not enter* into, and *continue in*, this society, exclude themselves from participation in the privileges of the Gospel.

¹ S. IREN. adv. Hæreses, iii. 40. Spiritus Sancti non sunt participes qui non concurrunt ad Ecclesiam, sed semet ipsos fraudant a vitâ. Ubi enim Ecclesia Dei ibi Spiritus Dei.

Q. Does this assertion further rest on the express authority of any examples in Holy Scripture?

A. Holy Scripture presents us with many instances where God appointed *certain means* for men's preservation, and where *all* were *destroyed* who would not avail themselves of those means.

Q. Mention some of these.

A. It was *necessary* to *enter* and *remain* in the Ark (which is a type of the Church¹) for safety from the Flood; it was *necessary* to have the door-post² sprinkled with blood, and that no one should go out of the doors³, in order to be safe from the sword of the destroying Angel; and it was *necessary* for the members of the family of Rahab³ to *abide* in her house, if they wished to escape death.

Gen. vii. 23.

1 Pet. iii. 21.

Exod. xii. 7.

22. 26, 27.

Jos. ii. 18,

19.

¹ TERTULLIAN, de Baptism. 8. Ecclesia est Arca figurata: v. de Idol. ad fin. S. CYPRIAN, Ep. lxi. p. 181. et Ep. lxxiv. p. 198. S. HIERON. ad Esa. xi. Quod Arca in Diluvio hoc Ecclesia præstat in Mundo. S. AUG. iv. p. 1315.—De Civ. D. xv. 27. Procul dubio Arca Noe figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Ecclesiæ, quæ fit salva per lignum in quo pependit Christus. See above, p. 9.

HOOKE, V. LXVIII. 6. The privilege of the visible Church is to be herein like the ark of Noah; that for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep.

² S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccles. p. 110. Sacramentum Paschæ in Exodi lege nihil aliud continet quam ut agnus qui in figurâ Christi occiditur in domo unâ edatur. Nec alia ulla credentibus præter unam Ecclesiam domus.—Vid. et p. 182.

³ S. IREN. i. 3. ORIGEN, in lib. Jesu Naue, Hom. iv. Extra hanc domum, id est, extra Ecclesiam, nemo salvatur.

S. CYPRIAN, Ep. 69. Rahab typum portabat Ecclesiæ, cui dicitur, Omnis, qui *exierit* domus tuæ foras, reus sibi erit.—Quo sacramento declaratur, in *unam domum solam*, hoc est, in Ecclesiam, victuros colligi oportere.

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Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the Ark of Noah, framed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived but such as were within those habitations, whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood by the appointment of God for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made: so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God which belong not to the Church of God. These are the vessels of the Tabernacle, carried up and down, at last to be translated into and fixed in the Temple.

Q. What do we learn from these examples?

A. We are taught by analogy, that, since God has appointed the Church to be the dispenser of the means of pardon, grace, and salvation to men, we cannot hope to escape death or inherit life, if we do not belong to it; that is, if we do not enter in, and abide in it.

Q. But does it appear directly from *Holy Scripture* that there is no sure way to salvation but in the Church?

Col. i. 18.
24.

A. Yes. The Church is called in Holy Scripture the Body of Christ: and while *it is* said in Scripture, that the Lord added to the *Church* such as were being *saved* (τοὺς σωζομένους), and that Christ is the *Saviour* of His *Body*¹ (σῶμα) the Church², salvation is nowhere promised to those who are *not* members of that Body³.

Acts ii. 47.

¹ Ephes. v. 23. Σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος (where the connexion of the Greek words σῶμα and σώζω is made use of by the Apostle). Col. i. 18. αὐτός ἐστι κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Hence οἱ σωζόμενοι (Acts ii. 47) are the *incorporated* into Christ's σῶμα or Body, the Church, and thus placed in a state of salvation.

² S. AUGUSTIN. in S. Joann. Evan. Tract. xxvi. 13. Vis vivere de Spiritu Christi? In Corpore esto Christi. CHAP. IV.

³ Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven, nor did He build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation.

Bp. TAYLOR on Repentance, vol. ix. p. 258. There is, in ordinary, no way to heaven but by serving God in the way which He hath commanded us by His Son; that is, in the way of the Church, which is His Body, of which He is the Prince and Head.

Q. But may there not be *more* than *one* Church in which salvation is offered?

A. No: the Church is *Una, Universa, and Unica*¹; *United, Universal, and One only*. Christ is the Head of every man, says St. Paul. As one Head He has but *one* spiritual Body; and this Body, as the Apostle tells us, is the Church, and no one can "hold the Head" who is not in this Body. Further; the Church is called in Scripture the fulness of Him who filleth *all* in *all*. This *universal* fulness admits of *no other* fulness. Again; the Church is the Spouse of Christ, united for ever to Him, Who loved her and gave Himself for her, and Who has *no other* or *second* Spouse besides that which He has sanctified and cleansed with water and the word, that He might present² the Church glorious to Himself, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing. She is the one Spouse of one Husband³. There is one Fold and one Shepherd; "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism;" and thus the Church is One for us men and for our Salvation⁴.

1 Cor. xi. 3.
xii. 12. 27.
Col. i. 18.
24. ii. 19.
Ephes. iv.
12—25.

Ephes. i. 23.

Is. lxii. 5.

Ephes. v.
25—27. 30.
32.

2 Cor. xi. 2.
John x. 16.
Ephes. iv. 5.

¹ S. AMBROSE, Hexaëm. iii. 1. Non *multæ* Congregationes sunt; sed *una* est Congregatio, *una* Ecclesia.

² Ephes. v. 27. ἵνα παραστήσῃ ἑαυτῇ ἑνδοξον ΤΗΝ ἑκ-

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κλησίαν. The force of the article in the original (expressive of the *oneness* of the Church) is to be observed.

³ S. FIRMILIAN ap. Cyprian. p. 224. Neque enim *multæ* Sponsæ Christi; *una* est, quæ est Ecclesia Catholica, quæ *sola* generat Dei filios.

2 Cor. xi. 2. ἡρμοσάμην ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἀγνήν· φοβοῦμαι δὲ μήποτε, ὥς ὁ ὄφεις Εὐὰν ἐξηπάτησεν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως φθαρῇ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν.

⁴ CLEMENS ALEXANDRIN. Strom. vii. 17. Ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων φανερόν οἶμαι γεγενῆσθαι μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀληθῆ Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαίαν, εἰς ἣν οἱ κατὰ πρόθεσιν δίκαιοι ἐγκαταλέγονται· ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἄκρως τίμιον κατὰ μόνωσιν ἐπαινείται, μίμημα ὃν ἀρχῆς τῆς μιᾶς.—Καὶ ἡ ἐξοχὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθάπερ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς συστάσεως κατὰ τὴν μονάδα ἐστὶν πάντα τὰ ἄλλα ὑπερβάλλουσα καὶ μηδὲν ἔχουσα ὁμοίον ἢ ἴσον ἑαυτῇ.

S. CYPRIAN, Ep. lxxiv. p. 216. Fell. Deus unus et Christus unus, et una Spes et Fides una, et una Ecclesia. See ibid. p. 83. Sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare et unum Sacerdotium non potest. S. CYPRIAN. Ep. lxi. p. 181, ed. Fell. Quod autem Ecclesia *unas* it declarat in Cantico Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus, ex personâ Christi dicens, *UNA est Columba Mea*. De Unit. Eccl. p. 119.

S. OPTATUS, i. 7. Præter unam Ecclesiam altera non est.

S. HIERON. Esa. xix. Cuncta altaria quæ contra Ecclesiæ eriguntur altare, sciamus esse non Domini.

S. AUGUSTIN, Sermon. cxxv. Quia *unica* est Ecclesia, per totum orbem unitas salvatur. Ab unitate ergo noli recedere, si non vis esse immunis a salute.

Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. ix. Except a man be of the *Catholic Church*, he can be of *none*. For being the Church which is truly Catholic containeth within it *all* which are truly Churches, whosoever is not of the Catholic Church cannot be of the true Church. Whatsoever Church pretendeth to a *new beginning*, pretendeth at the same time to a new Churchdome; and whatsoever is so *new*, is *none*.

Q. What other evidence have we of this truth

from Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the Fathers CHAP. IV.
of the Church?

A. The Church was prefigured by Eve, “the Mother of all living:” and, as there is no way of being *naturally* born, as *men*, but by descent from Adam and Eve, so is there no way of being *spiritually* born as *Christian men*, but from Christ and the Church¹. As Adam was united to Eve, so is Christ, “the second Adam,” to His Church, and no one belongs to Christ who does not belong to Christ’s Church. “Christianus non est qui in Christi Ecclesiâ non est².” What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. Gen. iii. 20.
Gal. iv. 26.
Rev. xxi. 2.

1 Cor. xv. 47.

Matt. xix. 6.

¹ ORIGEN, ap. Routh, Rel. Sacr. iii. 265. S. METHODIUS, Conviv. Virg. iii. 8. Galland. Bibl. P. P. iii. p. 688.

S. HIERON. ad Ephes. c. v. Quomodo de Adam et uxore ejus omne hominum nascitur genus, sic de Christo et Ecclesiâ omnis credentium multitudo generata est. S. CHRYSOST. in Ephes. c. v. p. 864, Savil. S. AMBROS. in S. Luc. iii. 22. Adam novissimus Christus est: Costa Christi vita Ecclesiæ. Hæc est Eva mater omnium viventium. S. AUG. Serm. xxii. Parentes qui nos genuerunt ad mortem, Adam et Eva; parentes qui nos genuerunt ad vitam, Christus et Ecclesia. Vide et t. iv. p. 498, et Tractat. in S. Joh. xi. et c. Faustum, xiii. 8. S. AUG. in S. Joann. Tract. ix. Dormit Adam ut fiat Eva; moritur Christus ut fiat Ecclesia. Dormienti Adæ fit Eva de latere; mortuo Christo lanceâ perentitur latus ut profluant sacramenta quibus formetur Ecclesia.

HOOKE, V. LVI. 7. The Church is in Christ, as Eve was in Adam. Yea by grace we are in Christ and in His Church, as by nature we are in our first parents. God made Eve out of Adam. And His Church He framed out of the very flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side, of the Son of Man. His body crucified and His blood shed for the life of the world, are the true elements of that heavenly being which maketh us such as Himself is of whom we come. See also CUDWORTH’S Works, Tom. ii.

PART I. Bp. BEVERIDGE on Article xxv. ii. p. 210.

² S. CYPRIAN, ad Anton. p. 112.

Q. What was the Judgment of the primitive Church upon this point?

A. It declared in its Creeds¹, that the means of grace and salvation could only be obtained in the Church; that remission of sins could only be had there; that the Sacrament of the Eucharist², the graces of the Spirit³, and the Word of God⁴, pure and incorrupt, could be received only in the Church; that Prayer could only be offered up acceptably to God, and that Benediction could only be received, in Communion with the Church of Christ⁵. In the words of St. Jerome⁶, “Qui matrem Ecclesiam contempserit, morte morietur.” And in those of St. Augustine, “Sanctus mons Dei sancta Ecclesia ejus; qui non ei communicant, non exaudiuntur ad vitam æternam.” And of St. Ambrose⁷, “Ecclesia est Corpus Christi; et ille negat Christum, qui non omnia, quæ Christi sunt, confitetur.” And of St. Augustine⁶ again, “Ecclesia Catholica sola corpus est Christi, cujus Ille Caput est et Salvator corporis Sui. *Extra hoc corpus neminem vivificat Spiritus Sanctus.*” “*Nulla salus, nisi in Ecclesia,*” was the concurrent language of all Christian antiquity; and in the words of St. Cyprian⁸, and of St. Augustin⁶, “*Nemo potest habere Deum Patrem, qui non habet Ecclesiam Matrem.*”

¹ S. CYPRIAN, ad Magn. Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam.

S. AUG. Enchir. vi. p. 379. *Extra Ecclesiam non remittuntur peccata: ipsa nam proprie Spiritûs Sancti pignus accepit sine quo non mittuntur peccata.*

Below, chap.
vi. vii. viii.
xiii. xiv. xv.

See KETTLEWELL on the Creed, pt. ii. chaps. vi. and vii. CHAP. IV.
pp. 323—335, ed. 1713.

² S. IGNAT. ad Ephes. v. *ἐὰν μή τις ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Cf. ad Trall. c. vii.

³ S. IREN. iii. 40. Spiritus non sunt participes qui non concurrunt ad Ecclesiam; qui non participant eum neque a mammillis Matris nutriuntur in Vitam, neque percipiunt de Corpore Christi procedentem nitidissimum fontem, sed effodiunt sibi lacus detritos de fossis terrenis, et de cœno putridam bibunt aquam, effugientes fidem Ecclesiæ—nunquam scientiam stabilem habentes, non fundati super unam Petram sed super arenam.

⁴ S. IREN. iii. 4. Non oportet apud alios quærere Veritatem, quam facile est ab Ecclesiâ sumere, cum Apostoli quasi in depositarium dives plenissimè in eam contulerint omnia quæ sint Veritatis, uti omnis quicumque velit sumat ab eâ potum vitæ. Hæc est vitæ introitus. Omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones.

⁵ S. PROSPER AQUIT. in Psalm cxlvii. 13. *Benedixit filios in te.* Extra Jerusalem nulla benedictio est: quia non sanctificatur nisi qui Ecclesiæ quæ est Christi corpus unitur.

⁶ S. HIERON. in Mich. vii. i. S. AUGUSTIN. iv. p. 520. vi. p. 976, in S. Joann. 118. c. Lit. Petil. c. 38.

⁷ S. AMBROSE in S. Luc. iv. c. 9. S. CYPRIAN, p. 96. ed. Fell. Cum Apostolus (Ephes. v. 31) Christi pariter atque Ecclesiæ unitatem individuâ nexibus cohærentem sanctâ suâ voce testatur, quomodo potest esse cum Christo qui cum sponsâ Christi et in Ejus Ecclesiâ non est?

⁸ S. CYPRIAN, p. 109. p. 119, ed. Fell.

Bp. ANDREWES, Sermon on Matt. vi. 17. This is sure: 'No man hath God to his Father, that hath not the Church for his mother;' and that once or twice in the Proverbs order is taken, as to "keep the precepts of our Father, so not to set light by the laws of our Mother." *Ira Patris* and *dolor matris* are together in one verse; "he that grieves her, angers Him."

Q. You say that there is no salvation but in the Church, and that the Church is distinguished from all other Societies by Faith in our Lord

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Jesus Christ, do you hereby intend to say that all who were born *before* the coming of Christ, and all who since His Incarnation have remained in ignorance of Him, are excluded from all hope of salvation?

A. No: certainly not. The Church consists of the *covenanted People* of God in *all countries and ages*, whether *before* or *after* the coming of Christ: and the object of its Faith has ever been one and the same, JESUS CHRIST. The members of the Church *before* His coming believed in Him *to come*; we believe in Him *having come*. The *seasons* of the Church are changed, but her *faith* is unchanged and unchangeable¹, and we doubt not that by that faith men have been saved in every age and country of the world.

John viii. 56.
1 Cor. x.
1—4.
2 Cor. iv. 13.
Heb. xi.
7—35.

¹ S. AUG. Tract. in Joann. xlv. iii. p. 2131. *Ante adventum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, quo humilis venit in carne, præcesserunt justi, sic in eum credentes venturum, quomodo nos credimus in eum qui venit. Tempora variata sunt, non fides. Diversis quidem temporibus sed per unum fidei ostium videmus ingressos.* See also S. AUG. ii. pp. 415. 420, and above, pp. 5, 6, and p. 16. S. IREN. iv. 13—24. Bp. BARLOW's Remains, 582—592.

XXXIX ARTICLES. Art. viii. Both in the *Old* and *New* Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by CHRIST.

Q. But what then do you say of those who remain in entire ignorance of Christ?

A. I do not venture to say any thing, except
Luke xii. 48. that man's responsibilities vary with his privileges, and that Christ's merits and mercy are infinite¹, and that they are in God's hands and not in ours. Our duty here, is to adore in silence the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God,

and to discharge those *practical duties* which the consideration of their case forces upon us. CHAP. IV.

¹ BARROW, Sermons on Universal Redemption, iii. p. 464.
Bp. BUTLER, Analogy, Pt. ii. chap. vi. Macknight and Whitby on Rom. ii. 14, and Eph. ii. 3.

Q. What are these?

A. First, the duty of thankfulness to God, that "He hath called *us* with a holy calling to His kingdom and glory," by admitting us into Covenant with Himself in Jesus Christ; next, since it is revealed unto us in Scripture, that ¹ "no one cometh unto Him but by Christ, Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, and that there is none other Name given under heaven whereby men may be saved," we are bound to commiserate the condition of those who have not been admitted into this covenant; and, thirdly, to pray ² God for them, and to do all in our power to promote the cause of Christian Missions, in order that all the nations of the world may be brought within the pale of the Church, and become one fold, under one Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST.

² Tim. i. 9.
¹ Thess. ii. 12.

John xiv. 6.

Acts iv. 12.

¹ CASAUBON, Exerc. Baron. p. 3. Credendum sane, etiam ante natum è B. Virgine Dominum, alios quoque salutis factos esse participes, *pauca*, qui vel apparent in Scripturis, vel in genere humano latent, ut ait B. Augustinus in Epistolâ 99, ad Euodium Episcopum; sed illud quoque simul credendum, neminem ullâ unquam ætate ad spiritalem Jerusalem pertinuisse, nisi cui divinitus revelatus fuerit unus Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus; qui venturus in carne, sic antiquis sanctis prænuntiabatur, quemadmodum nobis venisse nuntiatus est, ait idem Augustinus, de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. xlvii., et in Epistolâ 28, ad Hieronymum, verba illius sunt: Certus sum, non esse animam ullam in genere humano cui non sit necessarius ad liberationem Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus.

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XXXIX ARTICLES. Art. xviii. *Of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ.* They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

² LEO MAGNUS, ed. Lugduni, 1700, tom. i. pp. 8, 9. De Vocat. omn. Gent. lib. i. cap. xii. *Supplicat ubique Ecclesia Deo non solum pro sanctis et in Christo jam regeneratis, sed etiam pro omnibus infidelibus et inimicis crucis Christi, pro omnibus idolorum cultoribus, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris ipsius persequuntur, pro Judæis quorum cæcitati lumen Evangelii non refulget, pro hæreticis et schismaticis qui ab unitate fidei et charitatis alieni sunt. Quid autem pro istis petit, nisi ut relictis erroribus suis convertantur ad Deum, accipiant fidem, accipiant charitatem, et de ignorantiae tenebris liberati, in agnitionem veniant veritatis?*

See the Third Collect for Good Friday in the Book of COMMON PRAYER.

CHAPTER V.

ON ERRORS IN THE CHURCH.

Q. CAN the Church fail?

A. No. *Particular Churches may fail*¹, but the entire *Catholic Church cannot*; for it is Christ's Body; and He has promised that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," and that He will be with it "always, even unto the end of the world." The Church is subject to vicissitudes, but cannot be destroyed; its Light² may wane, but shall never be extinct. The seven-branched Candlestick of the Universal Church will always stand, though *any one* of its branches may

Rev. ii. 5.

Matt. xvi.

18.

Ib. xxviii.

20.

Luke xviii.

3.

2 Thess. ii. 3.

1 Tim. iv. 1.

2 Pet. ii. 2.

Rev. xii. 4.

Ib. xiii. 8.

be removed from its socket, and another branch CHAP. V.
planted in its room.

¹ Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 43. There is a vast difference between the Catholic Church, and a patriarchal one. The Catholic Church can never fail; any patriarchal Church may.

² S. AMBROS. Hexaëm. iv. 2, and iv. 8. Ecclesia sicut Luna defectus habet et ortus frequentes, sed defectibus suis crevit. S. AUG. Ep. 48, ad Vincent. Ecclesia aliquando obscuratur et tanquam obnubilatur scandalorum multitudine.

WALDENSIS, Doct. Fid. i. 2, 2, c. 19. Nulla Ecclesia est indefectibilis in fide nisi symbolica seu universalis. Aliæ omnes errare possunt et deficere.

Q. Can the Church *err*?

A. The Invisible Church, or company of God's elect People, is safe from error; and the *entire visible* Church cannot err; but it may be so much affected by the depraved lives, corrupt tenets, or violent passions of many of its members, that its true voice may at times *falter* or be *suppressed*¹; and though there will be always truth in it by reason of Christ's perpetual presence in the Church, and as it is "the pillar and ground of the truth," yet *that truth* will be more or less generally and publicly *apparent* at different times. Christ Himself has spoken of a time when Iniquity will abound and Charity will wax cold, and the Faith will be hard to find². He has said that as it was in the days of Noah and of Lot, so will it be at his Second Coming, the circumstances of which were prefigured by the calamities suffered at the taking of Jerusalem. St. Paul has spoken in like manner of "perilous times" for the Church. Though there will be always grain in the threshing-floor of the Church, yet the chaff may sometimes nearly hide it; though wheat will be ever in the field, yet it

John x. 29.
1 Pet. i. 5.
Matt. xxiv.
11. 24.
2 Tim. iii. 1.

Ps. xlv. 5.
1 Tim. iii. 15.
Joel ii. 32.
Obad. 17.

Luke xviii.
8. xvii. 26.
Matt. xxiv.
3, &c.
Gen. vii. xix.
1 Tim. iv. 1.
2 Thess. ii.
3—5.
Acts ii.
19—21.

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may sometimes be *almost* choked with tares. Therefore, though the *Universal* Church cannot err, yet any *particular*, and even the *representative*, Church (i. e. the Church as *represented* by Councils) may³.

¹ S. AUG. lib. ii. c. 3. de Bapt. c. Donat. Provincialia Concilia emendari posse per Plenaria, et Plenaria priora per posteriora. FIELD, On the Church, iv. c. 5. CRANKANTHORPE, Vind. Eccles. Anglican. p. 19. Bp. PEARSON, on the Creed, Art. ix. p. 343. (ed. 1715.)

² S. HIERON. in cap. 2. Sophon. Veruntamen veniens Filius hominis, putas, inveniet Fidem supra terram? Non mirabitur de externâ Ecclesiæ vastitate, quod regnante *Antichristo* redigenda sit in solitudinem? S. AMBROSE in S. Luc. xxi. 25.

S. AUG. de Civ. Dei, x. 8. Antichristi tempore Diabolus solvendus; et proinde gravior erit illa persecutio, quanto crudelius potest sævire solutus quam ligatus. IDEM, Tract. in S. Joann. xxv. p. 1966.

³ XXXIX ARTICLES. Art. xxi. General Councils may err.

Art. xix. As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of Rome has erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith. Abp. LAUD against Fisher, p. 114, sect. 22; p. 134, sect. 25; and p. 185, sect. 31—33. ed. Oxf. 1839. Bp. BEVERIDGE on xixth and xxist articles.

Q. But if the representative Church may err, what is the use of General or Œcumenical Councils in which the Universal Church is represented?

A. Very great: first, though the representative Church *may* err¹, yet it is not to be *presumed* that it *will* err, but that it will *not*; and we *know* that such Councils are of Apostolic institution, and *have* been eminently serviceable for the maintenance of truth, and suppression of error; and though, *à priori*, it be admitted that they *may* err,

Above, p. 19.
Below, Pt.
ii. ch. ix. at
end.

yet, *à posteriori*, it is to be believed that they *have not erred* in whatever, having been decreed by them, has been *universally received* in the Church, as, for example, the doctrinal canons of the first four General Councils; and though it should be *thought* that they are in error, yet, until the error be *plainly shown* to be against Scripture², *private opinions* are to give way to *Public Authority*, for the sake of peace and for the end or avoidance of strife³. Though the Church *may* err, it does not follow that she is not to be *obeyed*; for *mater errans mater est*. In *controverted* points, we must stand by the determination of the Church, (unless, as has been said, it is clearly against Scripture,) for the sake of the preservation of her Peace and Unity, which is of the very essence of Christianity.

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES. Art. xxi.

² S. ATHANAS. de Syn. Arim. et Seleuc. p. 673.

S. HIERON. in Epist. Galat. Spiritus Sancti doctrina est, quæ canonicis literis est prodita, contra quam si quid statuant *Concilia*, nefas duco.

³ HOOKER, II. VII. 5. For it to have been deceived is not impossible.

HOOKER, Preface, ch. vi. 3. Ye will perhaps make answer, that being persuaded already as touching the truth of your cause, ye are not to hearken unto any sentence; no, not though angels should define otherwise, as the blessed Apostle's own example teacheth. Again, that men, yea, Gal. i. 8. *Councils may err*; and that, unless the judgment given do satisfy your minds, unless it be such as ye can by no further argument oppugn; in a word, unless you perceive and acknowledge it yourselves consonant with *God's Word*; to stand unto it, not allowing it, were to sin against your own consciences.

But consider, I beseech you, first as touching the *Apostle*, how that, wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, *our*

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Lord Jesus Christ made manifest unto him, even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no possibility of error. That which *you* are persuaded of, ye have it no otherwise than by your own only probable collection; and therefore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouths but argue rashness.

Neither wish we that men should do anything which in their hearts they are persuaded they ought not to do, but *this persuasion* ought (we say) to be *fully settled* in their hearts, *that* in litigious and controverted causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them do whatsoever the *sentence of judicial and final decision* shall determine; yea, though it seem in their private opinion to swerve utterly from that which is right: as, no doubt, many times the sentence amongst the Jews did seem unto one part or other contending, and yet in this case God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgment it seemed, yea, and perhaps truly seemed, that the law did disallow. For if God be not the Author of confusion, but of peace, then can He not be the Author of our *refusal*, but of our *contentment* to stand upon some definitive sentence; without which almost impossible it is that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to attain peace. To small purpose had the Council of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When, therefore, they had given their definitive sentence, *all controversy was at an end*. Things were disputed *before* they came to be determined; men *afterwards* were not to *dispute* any longer, but to *obey*. The sentence of judgment *finished their strife*, which their disputes before judgment could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinions were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed, small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted will in short time quietly end.

Archbishop LAUD against Fisher, sects. 32 and 33, p. 216. The Church is never more cunningly abused than when men out of this truth that she may err [when represented in a Council called General] infer this falsehood, that she is not to be obeyed. It will never follow, *she may err*, therefore *she may not govern*.

Q. In what respects may individuals in a Church err as well as entire national Churches?

A. Principally by Heresies or by Schisms.

Q. What is the meaning of the word Heresy?

A. It comes from the Greek, αἵρεσις, *a choice*¹, and it means an arbitrary adoption, in matters of faith, of opinions at variance with the doctrines delivered by Christ and His Apostles, and received from them by the Catholic Church.

Rom. xvi.
17.
2 Thess. iii.
6. 14.
2 John 10.

¹ TERTULLIAN, Præscript. Hæret. 6. Sed et in omni pæne epistolâ Paulus Apostolus de adulterinis doctrinis fugiendis inculcans, *hæreses* taxat, quarum opera sunt adulteræ doctrinæ; *Hæreses* dictæ Græcâ voce ex interpretatione *electionis*, qua quis sive ad instituendas sive ad suscipiendas eas utitur. Ideo et *sibi damnatum* dixit *hæreticum*, quia et in quo damnatur, sibi elegit. Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet, sed nec *eligere* quod aliquis de arbitrio suo induxerit. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, *elegerunt*, sed *acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter* nationibus adsignaverunt. Itaque etiamsi *Angelus de cælis aliter evangelizaret, anathema diceretur* a nobis.

S. HIERON. in Epist. ad Titum, c. 3. *Hæresis* Græce ab *electione* venit, quod scilicet unusquisque id sibi eligit quod ei melius videatur.

Q. Is every one who holds an error in religion to be called a Heretic?

A. No. Error neither voluntarily adopted, nor pertinaciously defended, *does not*,—but error¹ willingly adopted, publicly avowed, and obstinately maintained, *does*,—make a man a Heretic.

Luke xii.
47.
James iv. 17.
Jude 22.

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¹ S. AUG. Ep. 43. tom. ii. p. 131. Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nullâ pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audacia præsumptionis suæ pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærent autem cautâ sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, *nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi*.

S. AUG. de Civ. D. xviii. 51. Qui in Ecclesiâ morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt, hæretici fiunt.

Archbishop BRAMHALL, i. p. 110, ed. Oxf.

Q. In what consists the sin of Heretics?

1 Cor. iv. 6. A. In that they proudly presume to be wise concerning the things of God above what is written, and to obtain salvation from Him on terms invented by themselves ¹.

¹ TERTULLIAN, Præscrip. Hæret. c. 6. Nobis nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet.—c. 11. Regula a Christo instituta nullas habet apud nos quæstiones nisi quæ Hæreses inferunt.—c. 8. Nobis curiositate non opus est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium.

Q. What is the language of Scripture concerning Heresy?

A. Heresy is a corruption of that purity which is the characteristic of Christ's Church, who is
 2 Cor. xi. 2. described in Scripture as a chaste Virgin ¹. St.
 2 Pet. ii. 1. Peter speaks of "false teachers bringing in privily
 2 Tim. iii. 8. damnable heresies." St. Paul compares them to
 Gal. i. 8. the magicians of Egypt who resisted Moses, and
 says, "Though we, or an Angel from heaven,
 preach any other Gospel unto you than that
 which we have preached unto you, let him be
 Titus iii. 10, accursed." "A man that is an Heretic after the
 11.
 2 John 10. first and second admonition reject, knowing that

he that is such is subverted and sinneth, being condemned *of himself*," i. e. by his own *choice*, viz. by what he himself has *chosen* (*elegit*)², instead of framing his will to maintain that which Reason and Religion teach.

¹ S. AMBROSE ad Ev. S. Luc. xv. 18. Vir Christus est, Uxor Ecclesia; caritate Uxor, integritate Virgo. S. PROSPER AQUITAN. Epigr. lxxvi. Virginitas animæ est intemerata fides. S. AUG. Serm. i. de Verb. Dom. Ecclesiæ concessit Christus in Spiritu quod Mater Ejus habuit in corpore, ut et Mater et Virgo sit.—Serm. 16, de Temp. Ecclesia mater est visceribus charitatis, Virgo integritate fidei.

² HOOKER, III. VIII. 8.

Q. What is Schism?

A. It is the act by which any entire or national Church, or any individual member thereof, voluntarily divides¹, or separates itself or himself from the unity of the visible Church, or makes divisions in it.

¹ Archbp. BRAMHALL, vol. i. p. 112. Schismatics are,—whosoever doth uncharitably make rupture, or “sets up altar against altar” in Christ’s Church, or withdraws his obedience from the Catholic Church, or its representative a general Council, or from any lawful superiors, without just grounds; whosoever doth wilfully break the line of Apostolical succession, which is the very nerves and sinews of ecclesiastical unity and communion, both with the present Church, and with the Catholic symbolical Church of all successive ages; he is a schismatic (*quâ talis*), whether he be guilty of heretical pravity or not.

Q. What is the difference between *Heresy* and *Schism*?

A. In the words of St. Jerome¹, “*Heresy* maintains perverse *doctrine*. *Schism* is a separation (*σχιζει*, *scindit*) from the Church, in the nature of an *Episcopalis dissensio*,” or dissent from Ecclesiastical governors; when a man wholly or occa-

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1 Kings xii.
27—32.

sionally withdraws himself from communion with his lawful Bishop and Pastor, and takes any part in setting up or maintaining Bishop against Bishop, Pastor against Pastor, or altar against altar. "But," adds St. Jerome, "there is no schism which does not tend to generate for itself some *Heresy*;" whence St. Augustine² calls Heresy a *Schisma inveteratum*. Heresy is *contra dogmata, contra Fidem, et contra veritatem*; Schism, *contra personas*³, *contra disciplinam, et contra caritatem*.

¹ S. HIERON. in Tit. c. 3. He calls it *dissensio episcopalis*; there being in that age no Christian congregation apart from, or independent of, a Bishop. See below, Pt. i. ch. x.

² S. AUG. c. Crescon. ii. 7.

³ S. CYPRIAN, Ep. lxvi. p. 167. Inde schismata et hæreses, dum Episcopus, qui unus est et Ecclesiæ præest, superbâ præsumptione contemnitur.

S. AUG. De Fide et Symb. c. 10. Hæretici de Deo falsa sentiendo ipsam fidem violant; schismatici autem dissensionibus iniquis a fraternâ caritate dissiliunt, quamvis ea credant quæ credimus.

Q. What do we learn from Scripture concerning Schism?

Num. iii. 4.

Num. xvi.
Jude 11. 19.
1 Kings xii.
27—32.

1 Cor. i. 10.

1 Cor. xiii. 3.
1 Cor. iii. 3.
Gal. v. 20,
21.

A. As the punishment and fearful judgment of God on *Nadab* and *Abihu*¹ is a warning against *Heresy*, so is that on *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, against *Schism*. *Jeroboam*, who is characterised in Scripture more than twenty times as he that "made Israel to sin," is an example of *both Heresy and Schism*. St. Paul says to the Corinthians, "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions (*σχίσματα*) among you." And he declares that *nothing*, not even martyrdom², *profiteth* without *charity*³. Schism is a carnal work, and as such excludes from heaven; it tends to the

subversion of a Church, for a kingdom or house divided against itself cannot stand; it is a rending of Christ's blessed body; a violation of the marriage-compact between Him and the Church (μοιχεία πνευματική); a disregard of His Divine Example, by which He taught His disciples to love one another; an open contempt of His Prayer, "As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee; so may they also be *one* in Us, that they may be one, as We are one;" a breaking of the bond of love, by which Christ's disciples are to be known; a falling away from the practice of the members of the Apostolic Church, who were all of one accord, of one heart and one soul⁴.

CHAP. V.
Matt. xii. 25.

John xiii. 34.

John xvii.
21, 22.

John xiii. 35.
Acts ii. 46.
iv. 32.
Col. iii. 14.
Gal. v. 22.

¹ S. IREN. iii. 43. *Hæretici quidem alienum ignem offerentes ad altare Dei, id est alienas doctrinas, a cœlesti igne comburuntur, quemadmodum Nadab et Abiud. Qui vero exsurgunt contra veritatem, et alteros adhortantur contra Ecclesiam Dei, remanent apud inferos voragine terræ absorpti, quemadmodum qui circa Chore, Dathan, et Abiron.*

S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccl. p. 116.

² S. IGNATIUS concerning Schism, Frag. p. 454, ed. Jacobson, οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου αἷμα ταύτην δύνασθαι ἐξαλείφειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.—So S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccles. p. 113. Inexpiable culpa discordiæ nec *passione* purgatur: esse Martyr non potest qui in Ecclesiâ non est; *occidi* talis potest, *coronari* non potest.

³ See p. 47, note 3.

⁴ Bp. HORNE'S Discourse on Schism (in the Scholar Armed, ii. 320—326).

Q. But if the Legislature of a country tolerates schismatics, does it not make Schism to be innocent?

A. No; this is beyond all human power. As, if the State *prescribed* Schism under a penalty, it would oblige *ad pœnam*, but not *ad culpam*; so,

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although it may remove all the civil penalties of Schism¹, it cannot diminish its religious guilt; "*Pœna potest demi; culpa perennis erit.*"

¹ NORRIS, John, in *Christian Institutes*, iii. 302, note.

Q. To consider the case of *wilful* and *obstinate* Heretics and Schismatics; are they in the Church?

Above, pp.
15—17.

A. We may not say they are in the *Invisible* Church; for *wilful* and *obstinate* Heretics¹, as far as their *heresy*, and *Schismatics*, as far as their *schism*, is concerned, have forsaken the *true* Church of God, which is *sound* in *doctrine*, and joined together in *unity*; but by virtue of the Sacraments² which they may have received, and of such articles of Christian Faith as they may still continue to hold, they are *so far* in the *Visible* Church. Being *Heretics* or *Schismatics*, but *not* being *Jews*, *Saracens*, *Infidels*, *Atheists*, or *Apostates*, they are still members of the *Visible* Church, though *peccant* and *unsound* members; they are a part, though a *maimed* and *corrupt* part, of the *Visible* Church. "Sunt in Ecclesiâ quamvis non³ *salubriter* in Ecclesiâ⁴." They are indeed *in* the Church, but as long as they are *wilful* Heretics or Schismatics they receive no benefit *from* it³. They are subjects of Christ, but rebellious⁵ ones. By breaking *Unity*, they have forsaken *Charity*, without which other things profit them not³, but rather increase their condemnation. (See further below, Pt. iii. ch. iii.)

1 Cor. xiii. 3.

¹ HOOKER, III. I. 7—11, and V. LXIII. 7. V. LXVIII. 6. Many things exclude from the kingdom of God, although from the *visible* Church they separate not.

MASON, de Ministerio Anglican. p. 195.

² S. AUG. de Bapt. iii. c. 19. *Hæretici aliquo modo sunt*

in *Ecclesiâ* etiam postquam ex illâ exierunt, propter sacramentorum administrationem.

S. AUG. in Breviculo Collationis 3. *Ecclesia* est corpus vivum, in quo est *Anima* et *Corpus*; et quidem *Anima* sunt interna Spiritus Sancti dona, Fides, Spes, Caritas. *Corpus* sunt externa professio fidei et sacramentorum communicatio. Ex quo fit ut quidam sint de *animâ* et de *corpore* *Ecclesiæ*, et proinde uniti Christo Capiti interius et exterius, et tales sunt *perfectissimè* de *Ecclesiâ*, sunt enim quasi membra viva in corpore: rursum aliqui sunt de *animâ* et non de *corpore*, ut catechumeni et excommunicati, si fidem et caritatem habeant. Denique aliqui sunt de *corpore* et non de *animâ*, ut qui nullam habeant internam virtutem et tamen spe aut timore aliquo profiteantur fidem, et in sacramentis communicent, et tales sunt sicut capilli aut unguis aut *malî humores* in corpore humano.

HOOKE, III. I. 11. We must acknowledge even *Heretics* themselves to be, though a *maimed* part, yet a *part* of the Visible Church.

³ S. AUG. in Ps. liv. *In multis erat mecum*: Baptismum habebamus utrique, Evangelium utrique legebamus: erant in eo mecum; in schismate non mecum, in hæresi non mecum. Sed in his paucis in quibus non mecum *non prosunt multa* in quibus mecum. Etenim videte, fratres, quam multa enarravit apostolus Paulus; (1 Cor. xiii.) unum dixit (*caritatem*) si defuerit, frustra sunt illa.

⁴ CRAKANTHORPE, Def. Eccl. Angl. p. 83.

⁵ S. HIERON. Ephes. i. Dominus noster, cum sit Caput *Ecclesiæ*, habet membra eos omnes qui in *Ecclesiâ* congregantur tam sanctos quam peccatores, sed sanctos voluntate peccatores necessitate sibi conjunctos.

Q. What are the consequent duties of individual members of the Church toward Heretics and Schismatics?

A. To feel deep sorrow for them; to act towards them in a spirit of charity and gentleness, but not to communicate with them in their Heresy or Schism, or to encourage or flatter them in it, or

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Ps. cxxxiii.
cxxxii. 6.

to treat it lightly, but to speak the truth in love concerning its sin and danger ; to pray for them ; to offer them counsel and exhortation ; and to employ all practicable means for bringing them to the enjoyment of those spiritual¹ blessings which are promised to all who love the peace of Christ's Church, and dwell together in Unity.

¹ S. AUG. in S. Joann. Tract. xxxiii. 8. Accipimus ergo et nos Spiritum Sanctum, si *amamus Ecclesiam*, si *charitate compaginamur*, si catholico nomine et fide gaudemus. Cre- damus, fratres ; quantum quisque amat Ecclesiam Christi, tantum habet Spiritum Sanctum.

CHAPTER VI.

ON PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH.

Word of God.—The Church its Witness and Keeper.

Q. WHAT privileges do the members of the Church derive through her means from God ?

1 Pet. i. 23.
James i. 18.
iii. 17.

A. First, the Word of God pure and entire.

Q. How is the Word of God received through the Church ?

Deut. x. 2.

A. As the two tables of the Law were by God's command consigned to the Ark, so by His divine Will the two Testaments are committed to the Church¹, who is the appointed Witness, Keeper, and Interpreter of Holy Writ, and is thence called by St. Paul *στῦλος καὶ ἰδρυαίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, "the pillar and ground of the truth."

1 Tim. iii.
15.

¹ Lord BACON, Confession of Faith, Works, iii. p. 124, ed. 1778. The Church is as the Ark, wherein the Tables

of the first Testament were kept and preserved. See also CHAP. VI.
 v. 530. De Ecclesiâ et Scripturis. *Contradictiones linguarum*
ubique occurrunt extra tabernaculum Dei. Quare quocunque
 te verteris, exitum controversiarum non reperies nisi huc te
 receperis.

Q. How is the Church a Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ?

A. The *Old Testament* is received by us from the Church of the *Jews*, to whom were committed the oracles of God, and who received those "lively oracles to give unto us¹," and by whom "of old time they were read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day;" and we know that they were by them delivered, *pure* and *entire*, into the hands of the *Christian Church*, from the fact that the Jews, being dispersed in all parts of the world, *could* never have conspired² to make any change in their sacred books, had they desired to do so, which they were so far from doing, that they would rather die a thousand deaths³, than allow any change to be made in them; and that every verse and every letter of the sacred text was scrupulously registered in their *Masora*⁴; and lastly that Christ, when reproving the Scribes and Lawyers, never charges⁵ them with the sin of corrupting the Books of the Law, which He would not have omitted to do, had they been guilty of it; and that He and His Apostles quote the Scriptures of the Old Testament as they existed then amongst the Jews, and as they still exist derived through them to us.

Isa. viii. 20.
 Rom. iii. 2.
 Acts vii. 38.
 xiii. 14, 15.
 27. xv. 21.

¹ S. AUGUST. tom. ii. 610. iv. 501. 760. viii. 391. Judæi Librarii, Capsarii, et Scriniarii Christianorum iis Sacros Codices portant. S. CHRYSOSTOM, i. p. 631, ed. Savil.

² S. AUG. de Civ. Dei, xv. 13.

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³ PHILO ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. viii. 6. JOSEPHUS apud Euseb. iii. 9.

⁴ HOTTINGER, Thesaurus, p. 138.

⁵ S. HIERON. in Esai. vi. Nunquam Dominus et Apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Pharisæis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticuissent.

Bp. COSIN on the Canon, p. 11. 98. ed. 1672. Bp. BEVERIDGE on Art. vi. vol. i. p. 275—280.

Q. Next, what has been the office of the Christian Church with respect to the *New Testament*?

A. To deliver it, as well as the Old Testament, down to us also, from age to age, as it was first written. That these writings, as we now possess them, are precisely the same as when they were first given to the world, we know from the facts of their having been publicly *received* by Synods of the Church¹; from their having been *openly read*, immediately after their publication, in Congregations of the Church in numerous places very distant from each other; from their having been *translated* at an early period into different languages² for the use of various Churches, which Versions thus made are found to *coincide* precisely with the present text; and from the fact, that the Fathers of the Church, in all parts of the world, beginning with the Apostles themselves, have referred to them, *quoted* them, and *commented* upon them, without any discrepancy from the copies which have been handed down to us.

Col. iv. 16.
1 Thess. v.
27.

2 Pet. iii. 15,
16.

¹ Canon lx. Concil. Laodicenum, (about A.D. 352.) p. 79, ed. Bruns. compared with the sixth Article of the Church of England: the two catalogues coincide with the exception of the Apocalypse, (of which see Concil. Tolet. iv. can. 16, and Bp. COSIN, p. 56. 58, and HOOKER, V. xx. 4. with Mr. Keble's note,) not contained in the former; and the book of Baruch, (which however is not in the old Latin

Version, Labbe Concil. i. p. 1521, and see Bp. COSIN, p. 53. CHAP. VI.
 58.) not received as canonical in the latter. See also the very ancient Fragmentum de Canone SS. Scripturarum, of the New Test. in Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, iv. pp. 3—5, with the notes of the Editor; and on the history of the New Test. Canon, see KIRCHHOFFER, QUELLENSAMMLUNG, Zürich, 1842.

S. CYRIL. Cateches. iv. n. xxii. p. 66.

S. CYRIL. Cateches. iv. xxxv. πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν· ταύτας μόνας μελέτα (βίβλους) σπουδαίως ὥς ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγιγνώσκουμεν· πολὺ σοῦ φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ἐπίσκοποι οἱ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προστάται οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες, σὺ οὖν τέκνον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὧν μὴ παραχάραττε τοὺς θεσμούς.

S. AUG. Epist. xciii. p. 369. Canonica Scriptura tot linguarum litteris et ordine et successione celebrationis Ecclesiasticæ custoditur.

² S. AUG. c. Faust. xxxii. c. 16. Corrumpi Scripturæ non possunt, quia sunt *in manibus omnium Christianorum*; et quisquis hoc primitus ausus esset, *multorum codicum* vetustiorum collatione confutaretur; maxime quia *non unâ lingua* sed *multis* continetur Scriptura.

S. CHRYSOST. in S. Joann. i. thus speaks of Translations existing in his time:—Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι τε καὶ Αἰθίοπες καὶ μυρία ἔθνη ἕτερα, εἰς τὴν ἑαντῶν γλῶτταν μεταβαλόντες τὰ παρὰ τούτου (εὐαγγελιστοῦ) εἰσαχθέντα δόγματα ἔμαθον.

S. AUG. c. Faust. xiii. Nostrorum Librorum Auctoritas tot Gentium consensione, per successiones Apostolorum, Episcoporum Conciliorumque roboratur.

Q. How do we know that the Books of the New Testament are *genuine*, i. e. were written by those persons whose names they bear?

A. From the testimony of the Church, which *received* them as such, both in General Councils collectively, and also separately in different and distant parts of the world, and *read* them publicly in Christian assemblies as the works of such writers, from the time of their first appearance ¹.

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¹ ORIGENES et S. AMBROSIIUS in S. LUC. init. TERTULLIAN, c. Marcion. iv. 5. Auctoritas Ecclesiarum Apostolicarum patrocinator Evangelii, quæ proinde *per* illas et *secundum* illas habemus.

Abp. LAUD against Fisher, p. 87. ed. Oxf. 1840. It is morally as evident that St. Matthew and St. Paul writ the Gospel and Epistles which bear their names, as that Cicero or Seneca wrote theirs. See HOOKER, V. xxii. 2. and Bp. KAYE's Tertullian, p. 300—304.

Q. Next, have we any witness of the Church that these writings are *inspired*, i. e. are the Word of God?

1 John iv. 1.
1 Cor. xii. 10.
2 John 7.
2 Pet. iii.
15, 16.
Rev. ii. 2.

A. Yes; the Primitive Church, which had both the supernatural power of trying and discerning the spirits, and also the best natural opportunities for ascertaining the truth¹, every where *received* and publicly *read* them as inspired, while at the same time she *rejected* other writings falsely pretending to be so; and *excommunicated* those who published them².

¹ S. AUG. de Doct. Christ. ii. 13.

RUFFIN. in Symbol. p. 26. (ad calc. Cyprian. ed. Fell.) Novi et Veteris Instrumenti Volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per Ipsum Spiritum Sanctum *inspirata* creduntur et Ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur in hoc loco evidenti numero, sicut. ex patrum monumentis accepi-mus designare.—He then gives the catalogue.

HOOKER, V. xxii. 2. If with reason we may presume upon things which a few men's depositions do testify, suppose we that the minds of men are not both at their first access to the school of Christ exceedingly *moved*, yea, and for ever afterwards also *confirmed* much, when they consider the *main consent of all the Churches in the world* witnessing the Sacred Authority of Scripture ever since the first publication thereof even till this present day and hour? See also HOOKER, II. iv. 2.

² BINGHAM, Eccl. Antiq. XVII. v. 18.

Q. Have we *any other foundation* for our belief CHAP. VI.
that the Bible is the Word of God?

A. Yes; we have *internal*, as well as *external* 1 Cor. x. 15.
evidence; God gives us *reason* and *grace*; the 1 Cor. xi. 13.
Church *prepares, predisposes, and moves* us to this Luke xii. 56,
belief by her authority, and by showing us that it 57.
is supported by the testimony of all successive ages,
even from the time of the Apostles and Evangelists,
who were incompetent of themselves to write and
do what they wrote and did; and whose lives,
actions, and sufferings, with the effects produced
by them, prove that they could neither be deceived
nor deceive in this matter; *this is external evidence*:
and then, through the grace of the Spirit of God,
the Scripture itself, by its own power, its moral
purity, its divine beauty, the wonderful *harmony* and
unity of all its parts (extending over many thousand
years), and by the fulfilment of its prophecies,
confirms, establishes, and settles us in the belief of
what the Church has before *testified*; and *this is*
internal evidence that the Bible is the Word of
God¹.

¹ HOOKER, III. VIII. 14. By experience we all know that
the *first outward motive* leading men so to esteem of Scrip-
ture is the *authority of Christ's Church*: afterwards, the
more we bestow our time in reading and hearing the mys-
teries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth
answer our received opinions concerning it: so that the
former inducement, prevailing somewhat with us before,
doth now much more prevail when the very thing hath
ministered further reason. See also Abp. LAUD against
Fisher, p. 69.

Q. How does the Church employ the Scripture,
of which she is the Witness and Keeper, in teach-
ing us the true faith?

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- Q. Both by her language and by her practice, in her own person, and in that of our Parents and Teachers, who act by her guidance and with her authority, she *invites* and *leads us* by the hand to Christ, to Whom she is subject, and Whom she hears, worships, and obeys, as her Husband, her Head, her Teacher, and her Saviour ; she instructs us in His will, she calls us to hear His doctrine, as revealed by Him in Holy Scripture; of which she is the Witness and Guardian; and *then the doctrine itself finally persuades, convinces, settles, and stablishes* us in the Faith, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, Whose word the Scripture is, by its own inherent truth and power. The Church, like the Virgin Mary at Cana, tells us "whatsoever He saith unto you, do it." Like the sister of Lazarus, she sits at Christ's feet, and listens to His words. She performs to us the part of the Samaritan woman, who brought her friends to Christ; concerning whom we read, that they *first* believed on Him for her saying; but when He had remained with them two days, and they had heard HIM, they believed because of His own word, and said unto the woman, as we now say to the Church, "*Now* we believe: but no longer (*οὐκ ἐτι*) because of *thy* saying; for we have *heard Him ourselves*, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world¹."

Luke i. 70.
John xvi. 13.
2 Pet. i. 21.

John ii. 5.
John x. 27.
Luke x. 39.

John iv. 29.

John iv. 42.

¹ S. AUGUSTIN, in S. Joann. iv. Homines, illa muliere, hoc est Ecclesiâ, annuntiante, ad Christum veniunt, credunt per istam famam : manet Christus apud eos biduo, et multo plures et firmitus in eum credunt quoniam vere ipse est Salvator Mundi. See also FIELD, Of the Church, p. 355. Jo. GERHARD, de Ecclesiâ, t. v. pp. 299. 318.

Q. What inferences do we then derive from Scripture with respect to the Church? CHAP. VI.

A. From Christ speaking to us in Holy Scripture we learn *which is His true Church*. “*In Sacro Codice Ipsum CAPUT ostendit nobis corpus suum.*” The Church shows us Scripture by her ministry: the Scripture shows us the Church by Christ Himself¹.

¹ S. AUG. de Unit. Ecclesiæ, c. 4, et c. 16. Ecclesiam corpus Christi sicut ipsum Caput in ipsis Scripturis debemus agnoscere. See above, chap. iv. S. AUG. De Symb. ad Catechum. iv. c. 13. Scripturæ sunt tabulæ matrimoniales Christi et Sponsæ ejus quæ est Ecclesia.

Abp. LAUD, p. 103. After we are moved, prepared, and induced by tradition (of the Church, to believe Scripture to be the Word of God), we resolve our faith into the written Word; in which we find materially, though not in terms, the very tradition that led us thither. And so we are sure, by Divine authority, that we are in the way, because at the end we find the way proved. Bp. CARLETON, contra Trident. p. 162.

Q. By what name did the Church call those writings which she received as inspired?

A. *Canonical*¹.

¹ RUFFIN. in Symbol. ad calc. Cypriani. Hæc sunt quæ Patres intra Canonem concluserunt, ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.

S. AUG. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. tom. iii. p. 113. Canonem in auctoritatis arce salubriter collocatum. In S. Joann. cxii. Libri, quos in auctoritatem Canonicam recipit Ecclesia. And ii. p. 285—287.

XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. vi. *Canonical Books*,—of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.—All the Books of the New Testament, as they are *commonly received*, we do receive.

Q. What is the derivation and meaning of this word?

A. It comes from the Greek, κανὼν, *a rule*;

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and Canonical Scriptures are those which are the *Rule* of Christian Faith and Practice.

Q. What were the rejected Books called by the *early Church*?

A. *Apocryphal*¹.

¹ BINGHAM, *Antiquities*, X. i. 7; XIV. III. 15.

Q. Whence is this word derived, and what does it mean?

A. It is derived from the Greek ἀπό, *from*, and κρύπτω, *to hide*; and it generally designated those Books which were *kept apart*, and *not read* in the Church¹.

¹ RUFFIN. in *Symbol. Apostol.* 38. apud Cyprian. p. 26, ed. Fell, ad fin. *Cæteras Scripturas* (beside the Canonical and Ecclesiastical) *Apocryphas* nominarunt, quas in Ecclesiis legi noluerunt.

Q. How then does it happen, that the majority of the Books (seven of the twelve), which are called *Apocrypha* in our English Bible, *are* read in the Church of England?

A. *These* Books, which are so read, were not commonly called *Apocryphal* by the ancient Church, but *Ecclesiastical*¹, and *were* read in the Christian Church (*Ecclesia*), (though not in the Synagogues of the Jews,) “for example of life and instruction of manners, but *not to establish any doctrine*²,” and are by some authors, in a *restricted sense*, sometimes even called *Canonical*³, as being found in the Canon or Sacred Catalogue of certain Churches; and they are not to be confounded with those which were called *Apocryphal* in *early* times, and which were *not* received or read by the Church.

¹ RUFFIN. in *Symbol.* c. 38. Alii libri sunt qui non *Canonici* sed *Ecclesiastici* a majoribus appellati sunt, ut est *Sapientia*

Solomonis, et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur Filii Sirach, (hence CHAP. VI. now called κατ' ἐξοχὴν *Ecclesiasticus*,) qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus vocatur, quo non auctor libelli sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est. Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiae et Judith et Machabæorum libri—quæ omnia *legi* quidem in *Ecclesiis voluerunt*, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cf. Bp. COSIN, p. 57, et S. ATHANAS. *ibid.* p. 58, where he distinguishes between *Apocryphal* and *Ecclesiastical* books, τὰ ἀπόκρυφα οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κανονικοῖς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἀριθμεῖται.

HOOKE, V. XX. 7—10. We read in our Churches certain books *besides* the Scripture, yet *as* the Scripture we read them not. Bp. PEARSON, *Vind. Ignat.* i. p. 41. Bp. BULL, *Def. Fid. Nic. I.* ii. 3. ROUTH, *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 251.

² S. HIERON. *Præf. ad lib. Salomonis.* Ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem dogmatum.

XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. vi. and Bp. BEVERIDGE on it, i. p. 274.

³ Bp. COSIN, p. 104. Bp. JEWELL, 197, 198.

Q. In what language were the Canonical Books written?

A. Those of the Old Testament in Hebrew; those of the New Testament in Greek.

Q. Ought any *Version* or *Translation* of the Scriptures to be received as of *equal* authority with the Original?

A. Certainly not: every Version of the Scriptures, both as a *Version* and as the work of *man*, must yield to the *original Word of God*¹. The human stream cannot rise to a level with the Divine source².

¹ S. AUG. de *Doctr. Christ.* ii. 16. Latinæ linguæ homines duabus aliis ad Scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, *Hebræâ* scilicet et *Græcâ*, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia *recurrat* si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas: et (ii. 22) Latinis qui-

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buslibet emendandis Græci adhibeantur, in quibus LXXII *Interpretum*, quod ad Vetus Testamentum attinet, excellit auctoritas. Consistently with this statement a distinction may be made to a certain extent in favour of the *Septuagint*, as a *Version* rising in some degree towards the authority of a *Text*, from its use by the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. See Bp. PEARSON, Minor Works, ii. 246. 259. 264—5.

² S. HIERON. ad Damas. Ad Hebraicam linguam tanquam ad *fontem* revertendum in Vetere Testamento. S. HIERON. Præf. ad iv. Evangelia. In Novo Testamento ad Græcam originem revertendum. See also his Epist. ad Lucin. Bæt.

REFORMATIO Legum Eccles. De Fide Cathol. c. 12. Cæterum in lectione D. Scripturarum, si quæ occurrerint ambigua vel obscura in Vetere Testamento, earum interpretatio ex fonte *Hebraicæ* veritatis petatur : in Novo autem *Græci* codices consulantur.

Pietro SOAVE, Storia di Concilio Tridentino, Lib. ii. p. 159, ed. 1629. CASAUBON. Exerc. Baron. xiii. p. 243. Dr. R. BENTLEY, Sermon. v. Nov. 1715. iii. p. 247, ed Dyce.

CHAPTER VII.

ON PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH.

Right Interpretation of the Word of God.

Q. You said that the Church is an Interpreter of God's Word ; how is this the case ?

A. *First*, and that *negatively*, as not being a *Legislator* ; that is, not *legislatively*, but *judicially*,—not by *making* laws, but by *explaining* and *declaring* those which God has promulgated. She has no power *against* the truth, but *for* the truth, and may not “so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another.” This being *promised*, the doctrinal interpretations of God's Word, which *have* been *generally* declared and received by

2 Cor. xiii. 8.
Art. xx.

the *Universal Church* from *the beginning*, and ascertained partly from Creeds, Confessions of Faith, Liturgies, and the *practice* of the Church, partly from Commentaries on Scripture, and partly from other expositions of the most eminent Divines and Preachers, are justly concluded to be true¹; and those which are *novel* may be presumed to be false: “Id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab initio².”

¹ ARTICLE XX. Bp. ANDREWES on Decalogue, p. 54—56.

² TERTULLIAN, c. Marcion. iv. 5.

Bp. BULL, ii. p. 238, ed. Oxf. 1827. The primitive Catholic Church ought to be the standard by which we are to judge of the orthodoxy and purity of all other succeeding Churches, according to that excellent rule of

TERTULLIAN, Præscript. Hæret. c. 21. Constat omnem doctrinam quæ cum Ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fide conspiret, veritati esse deputandam sine dubio tenentem quod Ecclesiæ ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit; omnem vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam quæ sapiat contra veritatem Ecclesiarum et Christi et Dei.

King CHARLES I. Fifth Paper to Mr. Henderson. My conclusion is, that, albeit I never esteemed any authority equal to the Scriptures, yet *I do think that the unanimous Consent of the Fathers and the universal Practice of the primitive Church to be the best and most authentical Interpreters of God's Word.*

Bp. SANDERSON, Prælect. p. 79. Admonendi estis, *judicio et praxi universalis Ecclesiæ* in Sacrarum Literarum Interpretatione plurimum deferri oportere. See the citations from Abp. Wake, Bp. STILLINGFLEET, and Dr. WATERLAND, below, p. 66. 68, 69.

Q. But if what you have said be so, might it not be objected that our faith rests on the authority, not of the Bible, but of the Church?

A. No. The Church and the Bible are *both* from God: the one is God's Kingdom, the other is

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His Word. As soon as we are conscious of any thing, we *find* the Church with Holy Scripture in her hands, and appointed by God to deliver it to us, and to instruct us in its meaning. The Church speaks to us ministerially, the Bible authoritatively¹.

¹ GERHARD, de Ecclesiâ, p. 318. Utrumque est res Dei, Ecclesia et Scriptura. Ecclesia est regnum Dei, Scriptura est verbum Dei. Regnum Dei administratur per verbum Dei. Verbum Dei auctoritatem habet in Ecclesiam, et in filios Dei, non autem illi auctoritatem habent in Scripturam sive Dei sapientiam : mutuas sibi operas præstant Ecclesia et Scriptura, sed auctoritas est Scripturæ, ministerium verò Ecclesiæ.

Q. She does not, therefore, on her own authority, impose on us any article of faith as necessary to salvation?

Eph. iii. 10.
Jer. xxiii.
28.

Gal. i. 8.
Eph. ii. 20.

A. No. The manifold wisdom of God is made known to us by the Church; *but* she dares not teach any thing, as necessary to salvation, except what she has received from Christ and His Apostles : she does not exercise “dominion over our

2 Cor. i. 24, faith,” but is a “helper of our joy¹.”

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xx. The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith : and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God’s Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing *against* the same, so *besides* the same *ought it not* to enforce any thing to be delivered *for necessity of salvation*.

See also Art. vi. and below, Pt. ii. ch. v. from middle to end.

Q. Since the Word of God is difficult to be understood, both from its own nature and from the nature of man, and since man is prone to *forget*

and to neglect what he understands, what ordinances are there in the Church for its exposition and perpetual inculcation?

Q. Those of Catechizing, or Oral instruction (κατήχησις¹) by question and answer, and of Public Preaching.

Heb. vi. 1, 2.

Luke i. 4.

2 Tim. iv. 2.

¹ Bp. ANDREWES, Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine, p. 4.

Q. What is the subject-matter of Catechizing in the Christian Church?

A. First, the Apostles' Creed; secondly, the Ten Commandments; thirdly, the Lord's Prayer; fourthly, the Two Sacraments.

Q. What do we learn from these?

A. From the Creed¹ we learn *credenda*, i. e. what we are to *believe*; from the Decalogue, *agenda*, what we are to *do*; from the Lord's Prayer, *petenda* or *postulanda*, what we are to *pray* for; in the Sacraments, *adhibenda*, *means* to be *used* for our growth in grace.

¹ HOOKER, V. XVIII. 3.

Q. In what does Preaching consist?

A. In the Public Reading¹ and Expounding² of Holy Writ¹.

¹ HOOKER, V. XIX. 1. V. XXI. 4, 5. Bp. TAYLOR, Holy Living, c. iv. § 4.

² HOOKER, V. XXII.

Q. To whom is the ministry of these ordinances committed?

A. Our Lord commanded His Apostles to "go and teach all nations:" saying, "As my Father hath sent Me, so send I you:" and, "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." His Apostles sent others, as He sent them, and with the same commission, ordering them to commit their doctrine "to faithful men, who should

Matt. xxviii.

19.

John xx. 21.

Matt. xxviii.

20.

2 Tim. ii. 2.

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See below,
Chap. viii.

teach others also.” Thus Christ made a *permanent, hereditary, and successive*, provision of Pastors and Teachers for his Church; and they, who hold the form of sound words of the Apostles, and who derive their commission through them and their successors consecutively from Christ Himself, are the authorized Teachers and Expounders of the Word of God ¹.

¹ S. IREN. iv. 45. p. 345, Grabe. Ibi discere oportet veritatem apud quos est ab Apostolis Ecclesiæ successio, et id quod est sanum et irreprobabile conversationis et inadulteratum et incorruptibile sermonis constat.

S. IREN. iv. 63. Agnitio vera (γνώσις ἀληθής) est Apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus Ecclesiæ status, in universo mundo, et character corporis Christi *secundum successiones Episcoporum*, quibus illi (Apostoli) eam quæ in unoquoque loco est Ecclesiam tradiderunt. Cf. v. 20.

TERTULLIAN, Præscr. Hær. 21. *Alii non sunt recipiendi Prædicatores quam quos Christus instituit.*—c. 19. Ubi veritas et *disciplinæ* et fidei, illic veritas Scripturarum et Expositionum. See further below, Part ii. chap. vi.

Q. Is this method of teaching by *human* means consistent with the usual course of God's dispensations?

A. Yes. To the Jews God not only gave a Law, but He commanded Parents to teach it to their children, and appointed a succession of human Expounders of it, and of Ministers under it. At St. Paul's conversion Christ sent Ananias to him. The angel sent Philip the Evangelist to instruct the Ethiopian. And Cornelius was ordered in a dream to send for St. Peter ¹. “Faith cometh by hearing; and hearing by the word of God.” “And how shall men hear without a Preacher?” God ordinarily *instructs* the *minds* of men, as He *heals* their *bodies*, by *means* of *other men* ².

Deut. iv. 8,
9. Exod.
xxviii. 1.
Levit. x. 11.
Acts ix. 10
—18.
viii. 26.
x. 5.
Rom. x. 17.
14.

See below,
Pt. i. ch. xiv.

¹ S. AUGUST. de Doctrinâ Christianâ, lib. i. (Paris, 1836. CHAP. VII.
vol. iii. pp. 15, 16.) Imo vero et quod per *hominem* discendum est, sine superbiâ discat : et per quem docetur alius, sine superbiâ et sine invidiâ tradat quod accepit : neque tentemus Eum Cui credidimus, ne talibus Inimici versutiis et perversitate decepti, ad ipsum quoque audiendum Evangelium atque discendum nolimus ire in Ecclesias, aut Codicem legere, aut legentem prædicantemque hominem audire ; et exspectemus rapi usque in tertium cælum, sive in corpore, sive extra corpus, sicut dicit Apostolus, et ibi audire ineffabilia verba, quæ non licet homini loqui, aut ibi videre Dominum Jesum Christum, et ab Illo potius quam ab hominibus audire Evangelium.

Caveamus tales tentationes superbissimas et periculosissimas, magisque cogitemus et ipsum Apostolum Paulum, licet *divinâ et cælesti* voce prostratum et instructum, ad *hominem* tamen missum esse, ut sacramenta perciperet, atque copularetur Ecclesiæ : et centurionem Cornelium, quamvis exauditis orationes ejus eleemosynasque respectas ei *angelus* nuntiaverit, *Petro* tamen traditum imbuendum ; per quem non solum sacramenta perciperet, sed etiam quid credendum, quid sperandum, quid diligendum esset, audiret. Et poterant utique omnia per *angelum* fieri, sed abjecta esset *humana* conditio, si per *homines hominibus* Deus *verbum suum* ministrare nolle videretur. Cf. S. AUG. Prolog. lib. i. de Civ. Dei, p. 131.

² S. AUGUST. de Doct. Christ. p. 131. Sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quæ hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, non nisi eis prosunt quibus Deus operatur salutem, qui et sine illis mederi potest, cum sine ipso illa non possint, et tamen adhibentur ; et si hoc officiose fiat, inter opera misericordiæ vel beneficentiæ deputatur : ita et adjumenta doctrinæ tunc prosunt animæ adhibita per hominem, cum Deus operatur ut prosint, qui potuit Evangelium dare *homini*, etiam non ab *hominibus*, neque *per hominem*.

Q. What are the beneficial ends of this arrangement?

A. It is "useful for the humiliation of man's pride, who *would not* be debtor to any one but himself!" It tends to promote charity between

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¹ HOOKER, V. LXXVI. 9.

² S. AUG. l. c. iv. c. i. 6. Ipsa Charitas quæ sibi invicem homines nodo charitatis astringit, non haberet aditum refundendorum et quasi miscendorum sibimet animorum, si homines per homines nihil discerent.

Q. But since even authorized Expositors are human, are they not fallible? and why ought I then to listen with deference to their expositions?

A. Because they have the professional aids of learning, study, and experience; and because they are publicly known to have given their assent to certain authorized Confessions of Faith, and are accountable to their Ecclesiastical Superiors for their public teaching; because also it is their greatest duty and interest to avoid error, and to teach the truth, since "they watch for the souls" of their hearers, "as they that must give account"¹; and because they are Ministers appointed and ordained by God "for this very thing," and have received and do receive Divine grace and assistance from Him for the execution of their office.

¹ BARROW, on Obedience to our Spiritual Guides and Governors. Sermons lvi. lvii. lviii. lix.

Q. Have we any direct *precept from Scripture, commanding* us to seek for and to receive instruction from them?

A. Yes. They are charged by Christ and His Apostles to preach. "The priest's lips should keep

knowledge, and we should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." On the other hand, the greatest wickedness is described by the words, "Thy people are as they that strive with the priest;" and our Lord said to His Apostles, "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me;" and, "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward¹."

CHAP. VII.

1 Cor. i. 18.

ix. 16.

2 Tim. iv.

1, 2.

Mal. ii. 7.

Hos. iv. 4.

Luke x. 16.

Matt. x. 41.

¹ Abp. POTTER on Church Government, ch. v. p. 221—240, ed. 1724.

Q. But authorized expositors may err; am I then to follow them in their error?

A. No; not when you *know it* to be so: our Lord has left us the rule, what to follow, and what to avoid. He says, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit (*ἐκάθισαν*) in Moses' seat (i. e. teach the Law¹, in his place); all therefore whatsoever they (so sitting and teaching) bid you to observe, *that* observe and do." But He says also, "Beware of the *leaven* (that is, of the *false doctrine*) of the Pharisees:" that is, we are to follow authorized teachers, and them *alone*², in that, and as far as, they teach by, and according to, Divine authority; but are not to follow them in any errors of doctrine. There may be teachers who do not faithfully keep to their engagements and duties.

Matt. xxiii.

2, 3.

Matt. xvi. 6.

12.

Luke xii. 1.

¹ S. August. in S. Joann. Evang. Tract. xlvi. 6. Multi quippe in Ecclesiâ commoda terrena sectantes, *Christum* tamen *prædicant*, et per eos vox Christi auditur: et sequuntur oves, non *mercenarium*, sed vocem PASTORIS *per* mercenarium. Audite mercenarios ab Ipso Domino demonstratos: *Scribæ*,

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inquit, *et Pharisei cathedram Moysi sedent : quæ igitur dicunt, facite ; quæ autem faciunt, facere nolite.* Quid aliud dixit, nisi, per mercenarios vocem *Pastoris* audite ? *Sedendo enim cathedram Moysi, legem Dei docent : ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua vero illi si velint docere, nolite audire, nolite facere.* Quod enim facit male, non prædicat de cathedrâ Christi : inde lædit unde *mala facit*, non unde *bona dicit*.

RAINOLD, Conference with Hart, 1598, pp. 255—269.

² Below, Pt. iii. ch. iii. toward the end.

Q. Am I then to make myself the judge whether they are in error ; and if not, to what test and standard of doctrine am I to appeal ?

A. We may not listen to our own private independent reason, but, first, and above all, Holy Scripture, as received, guarded, and interpreted by the Catholic Church from the beginning “according to the proportion of faith,” is the Rule to which all teaching of Individuals is to be referred, and *against* which no one is to be heard, no, not even “an angel from heaven ;” and next, subordinately and by way of confirmation and explanation, the consent of the Church herself, speaking in her public Expositions, Creeds, Councils, Liturgies, Confessions, and writings of her ancient Bishops and Doctors, is to be regarded¹.

1 Cor. ii. 13.
Rom. xii. 6.

Gal. i. 8.

¹ RAINOLD’S Conference, p. 46. Bp. ANDREWES on the Decalogue, p. 57.

WATERLAND, Works, v. p. 265. On the Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity. A very particular regard is due to the *Public Acts* of the Ancient Church appearing in *Creeds* made use of in baptism, and in the *censures* passed upon heretics. It is not at all likely that *any* whole Church of those times should vary from Apostolical doctrine in things of moment ; but it is, morally speaking, absurd to imagine, that *ALL the Churches* should combine in the same error, and conspire together to corrupt the doctrine of Christ. Bp. BULL,

Def. Fid. Nic. I. 1. 9. Religio mihi est eritque contra *torrentem* omnium Patrum S. Scripturas interpretari, nisi quando me argumenta cogunt evidentissima—quod *nunquam* eventurum credo. CHAP. VII.

Q. You speak of her ancient Bishops and Doctors ; but are not they also private and fallible individuals ?

A. Yes.

Q. What ground then is there for any special deference to their opinions ? and what is the nature of that deference ?

A. The first act of duty to them is not to attempt to raise them to that place where they themselves are not willing to stand¹; namely, to a level with the writers of HOLY SCRIPTURE. Scripture *alone*² can neither deceive nor be deceived ; but the expositions of Scripture by the Fathers of the Church are entitled, on many grounds, to special reverence.

¹ TERTULLIANUS, adv. Hermogenem. Non recipio quod *extra Scripturam* de tuo infers. IDEM, De Carne Christi, 2. Si Apostolicus es, cum Apostolis senti.

S. HIERON. ad Theophilum. Aliter habeo Apostolos, aliter reliquos tractatores. Illos semper vera dicere ; istos in quibusdam ut homines errare.

S. AUGUST. Epist. 82. Hieronymo. Ego *solis* eis Scripturarum libris qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissimè credam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantàlibet sanctitate doctrinàque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores Canonicos, vel ratione probabili, persuadere potuerunt. See also below, p. 71.

² TERTULL. Præscrip. adv. Hæres. c. 3. Non ex personis probamus fidem, sed ex fide personas.

S. AUGUST. lib. iii. de Trinit. Noli meis literis quasi Scripturis Canonicis inservire. Noli meas literas ex tuâ

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opinione vel contentione, sed ex divinâ lectione vel inconcussâ ratione corrigere.

S. AUGUST. contra Cresconium, lib. ii. cap. 31. Nos nullam facimus Cypriano injuriam, quum ejus quaslibet literas à Canonicâ divinarum Scripturarum auctoritate distinguimus. Neque enim sine causâ, tam salubri vigilantîâ *Canon Ecclesiasticus* constitutus est, ad quem certi prophetarum et Apostolorum libri pertinent, quos omnino judicare non audemus, et secundum quos de cæteris literis vel fidelium vel infidelium judicamus. See also c. DONATISTAS, ii. c. 3.

Q. State these grounds.

A. First, because the *times* in which they lived were in immediate succession from that of Christ Himself and His Apostles; next, because the vernacular *language* of many of them was that in which the Evangelists and Apostles themselves wrote; next, because of their undivided *devotion* to the ministry of the *Word*; because, also, they possessed and had the use of religious and other *treatises* which are now *lost*; also, because they habitually used *mutual conference*, publicly and privately, with one another; next, on account of their piety and sufferings urging and requiring them to *examine* the *truth*, as they valued their highest interests, temporal and eternal; and from their needs and prayers for *Divine Grace*, which we know to have been especially shed in *abundant supplies* upon the early Church¹; and, lastly, from their writings having been *approved* and held in great respect by the *Church*.

¹ Abp. WAKE'S Apostolical Fathers, c. x. p. 110. 1. They were contemporary with the Apostles, and instructed by them. 2. They were men of an eminent character in the Church, and therefore such as could not be ignorant of what was taught in it. 3. They were careful to preserve the doctrine of Christ in its purity, and to oppose such as went about to corrupt it. 4. They were men not only of a per-

feet piety, but of great courage and constancy, and therefore such as cannot be suspected to have had any design to prevaricate in this matter. 5. They were endued with a large portion of the Holy Spirit, and, as such, could hardly err in what they delivered as the Gospel of Christ. 6. Their writings were approved by the Church in those days, which could not be mistaken in its approbation of them. CHAP. VII.

WATERLAND on the Trinity, vii. On the Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, Works, v. pp. 253—333 ; p. 260. 1. The ancients who lived nearest to the apostolical times are of some use to us, considered merely as contemporary writers, for their *diction* and *phraseology*. . . 2. A further use of the ancient Fathers is seen in the letting us into the knowledge of antiquated *rites* and *customs*, upon the knowledge of which the true interpretation of some Scripture phrases and idioms may depend. 3. They are further useful as giving us an insight into the *history of the age* in which the sacred books (of the New Testament, I mean) were written. 4. The ancientest Fathers may be exceedingly useful for fixing the sense of Scripture in *controverted texts*. Those that lived in or near the Apostolical times might retain in memory what the Apostles themselves or their *immediate* successors said upon such and such points.—Their nearness to the time, their known fidelity, and their admirable endowments, ordinary and extraordinary, add great weight to their testimony or doctrine, and make it a probable rule of interpretation in the prime things. It deserves our notice, that the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries had the advantage of many written accounts of the doctrine of the former ages, which have since been lost ; and therefore, their testimonies also are of considerable weight, and are a mark of direction to us, not to be slighted in the main things. . . . 5. There is one consideration more, tending still to strengthen the former, and which must by no means be omitted ; namely, that the *charismata*, the *extraordinary gifts*, were then frequent, visibly rested in and upon the Church, and there only.

Q. What inferences do you draw from this statement?

A. These considerations show that their works

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are entitled to great respect, especially in a *negative* sense; i. e. if any doctrine appears to have been *unknown* to them, or to be *contrary* to their sense, as expressed in their writings, it may be concluded to be *novel*, and consequently *false*¹.

¹ WATERLAND, *ibid.* p. 275. This *negative* way of arguing is generally allowed, and can hardly bear any controversy. Bishop Stillingfleet (*Rational Account*, ii. p. 58,) observes, that it is *sufficient prescription against* any thing which can be *alleged* out of Scripture, that *if it appear contrary to the sense of the Catholic Church from the beginning*, it ought not to be looked upon as the *true* meaning of Scripture.

Q. But have not *modern* Expositors special advantages, not possessed by the ancient; and are they not entitled, in certain respects, to preference to them?

A. Modern Expositors have, no doubt, certain advantages. They have the experience of the past, whence they may see how error has been confuted by truth, which has gained in strength and clearness from the contest, for "*Ex hæreticis*," says St. Augustine, "*asserta est Catholica*¹:" and thus they learn to avoid error and to maintain truth. They have the benefit of the advancement of knowledge of languages and criticism, of the discoveries in science, and of the geographical and antiquarian researches of later days. But with respect to *preference*,—both ancient and modern Interpreters have their respective uses: and in the case of two good things, both of which are given us for our use by Almighty God, it is unwise to say, "*this is worse than that*:" our duty is to be thankful to Him for *both*, and according to our means and opportunities to use them accordingly.

¹ S. AUG. i. 1213—1215. iii. 2066. iv. 730. 732. 978. 1729. CHAP. VII.
v. 412. viii. 392. ed. Paris. S. CHRYSOSTOM, ii. 836, ed.
Savil.

Q. I infer from all you have now said, that you do not allow that there is any *one living, visible, infallible Judge* in controverted causes of Faith?

A. There *is one visible and infallible Judge* in such causes, and *one only*, namely, HOLY SCRIPTURE; as St. Augustine¹ says, “Scriptura sancta sola nescit fallere, nec falli:” and to this standard, “To the Law and to the Testimony,” all appeals Isa. viii. 20. in such cases must be made, as St. Optatus and St. Augustine said, in their controversies with the Donatists, “On *earth* we can find *no Judge*; we must seek one from *heaven*; but why from heaven when we have it in the *Gospel*? quid ad *cælum*, quum habemus in *Evangelio*? Why do we strive together? Quare de hæreditate litigamus? fratres sumus, quare contendimus? Non sine *Testamento* dimisit nos Pater; sedet Christus in *cælo*; et contradicatur *Testamento* ejus—*Aperi legamus*².”

¹ S. AUG. de Meritis, i. 22, compared with Epist. lxxxi. *Tantummodo* scripturis hanc debeo servitutem, quâ eas *solas* ita sequar ut conscriptores eas nihil in eis omninò errasse dubitem. See also his words above, p. 67.

² Abp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. xxvi. A. C. would know what is to be done for reuniting of a Church divided in doctrine of the faith, when this remedy by a general council cannot be had. “Sure Christ our Lord,” saith he, “hath provided some rule, some judge, in such and such like cases, to procure unity and certainty of belief.” I believe so too: for he hath left an infallible rule, the *Scripture*, and that by the *manifest places* in it (which need no dispute, no external judge), is able to settle unity and certainty of belief, in necessities to salvation: and in *non necessariis*, in and

PART I. about things not necessary, there ought not to be a contention to a separation.

Q. But Scripture, though a visible and infallible, is no *living* Judge, and is not a single living Judge necessary?

A. Christ knows best what is necessary for His Church; and He never appointed one. *If* there ever had been such a thing as *one* living Judge, it *must* have existed in the time of the *Apostles*; and they never would have summoned a COUNCIL¹ at Jerusalem, if any *one* living man, and specially any
 Acts xv. 37. one actually present among them *when* they summoned it, had possessed authority to decide the controversy which occasioned its convocation. And it is preposterous to imagine that Bishops would have been put to the pains of coming together from the most distant parts of Christendom to meet in Church Synods, in *different places*, at different times, during so many centuries, if the Church had known any thing of any such *one* living Judge, existing in *one place*².

¹ Abp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. xxvi. To draw all together to settle controversies in the Church, here is a visible judge and infallible, but not living, and that is the *Scripture* pronouncing by the Church; and there is a visible and a living judge, but not infallible, and that is a general council, lawfully called and so proceeding.

² See further below, Part ii. chap. ix.

Q. But in cases where *General Councils* cannot be summoned, how are litigated questions to be settled, and necessary Reforms to be made in the Church, since it cannot be by one living Judge?

A. Let each National Church keep itself as close as it can to God's Law¹: and, whereinsoever

it may have gone astray, (whatever *other* Churches may do,) let it *amend itself*¹. And if, after all, controversies should arise and defects exist in it,—which *will* always be the case more or less in every part of the Visible Church, even until the Great Day, when “the Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that do offend and them which do iniquity,” such things must be regarded by its members as trials² of their faith, as incitements to watchfulness, fasting, and prayer, and as exercises of their Christian faith, hope, and desire, calling on them to “possess their souls in patience,” and to raise their eyes from the present strifes, confusion, failings, and trials in the Church militant on earth, to the future peace, order, beauty, and felicity of the Church glorified in heaven.

CHAP. VII.

See above,
p. 9—16.

Matt. xiii. 41.

Luke xxi.
19.

¹ See HOOKER above, p. 21, 22.

² HOOKER, III. I. 10. The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto *us* from performing our duty to God, even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty.

Abp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. xxiv. Was it not lawful for Judah to reform herself when Israel would not join? Sure it was, or else the prophet deceives me, that says expressly, *Though Israel transgress, yet let not Judah sin*. And St. Jerome expounds it of this very particular sin of heresy and error in religion.

Hos. iv. 15.

³ Abp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. xxiv. When a general council cannot be had, the Church must pray that it may, and expect till it may; or else reform itself *per partes*, by national or provincial synods (as hath been said before). And in the mean time it little beseems A. C., or any Christian, to check at the wisdom of Christ, if He have not taken the way they think fitting to settle Church differences; or

PART I. if, for the Church's sin or trial, the way of composing them be
 1 Cor. xi. 19. left more uncertain than they would have it, *that they which
 are approved may be known.* See WATERLAND, v. 321.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH—DUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS BY A LAWFUL MINISTRY.

Q. WHAT other privileges are received from God through the medium of the Church?

Matt. xxviii.
 19. Mark
 xvi. 16.
 Luke xxii.
 19. Acts ii.
 42. 1 Cor.
 xi. 24. Tit.
 iii. 5.

A. The Sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, which are the visible *symbola* and *characteres Ecclesiæ*, the signs, badges, and bonds of the Christian Church¹.

¹ S. AUG. contra Faustum, xix. 11. In *nullum nomen religionis* sive veræ sive falsæ coagulari homines possunt nisi aliquo *signaculorum* vel *sacramentorum visibilium* consortio colligantur. S. AUG. contra Parmen. ii. c. 13, De Cathechiz. Rudibus. Sacramenta signacula rerum divinarum visibilia in quibus res ipsæ invisibiles honorantur. S. BASIL, Homil. xiii.

Q. Why is the Administration and Reception of the Sacraments necessary?

1 Cor. xii.
 12—14.
 x. 16, 17.

A. Because it has pleased God, in His infinite wisdom and mercy to us, to ordain them as *federal rites* wherein the new Covenant is ratified to us; and to make them the *instruments* of our incorporation, union, life, and growth, in the Body of Christ; and because He has constituted them the proper and efficacious *means* for the conveyance of His grace, pardon, and goodness to us, and for the quieting of our consciences, the illumination of our minds, and the preservation

of our souls and bodies; and because He has made them also to be *memorials* of His *past*, *pledges* of His *present*, and *earnests* of His *future* love to all who receive them worthily; and because He has appointed them to be visible *symbols* and *tokens* by which the members of Christ show their love for each other, and thus edify each other, and strengthen the unity of the body by mutual indwelling in Christ; and finally, because our Saviour Christ Himself *has declared them to be necessary to salvation*¹.

CHAP. VIII.

John iii.
3—5.
vi. 53. 56.
Mark xvi.
16.

¹ HUGO, de Sacramentis, lib. i. cap. 5. Institutio sacramentorum, quantum ad Deum auctorem, *dispensationis* est; quantum vero ad *hominem* obedientem, *necessitatis*: quoniam in potestate Dei est *præter ista* hominem salvare; sed in potestate hominis non est *sine istis* ad salutem pervenire.

HOOKE, V. LVII. 4. It is not ordinarily God's will to bestow the grace of sacraments on any but *by the Sacraments*; which grace also they that receive by Sacraments, or with Sacraments, receive it from Him, and not from them. For of Sacraments the very same is true which Solomon's Wisdom observeth in the brazen serpent. He that turned towards it was not healed by the thing he saw, but by Thee, O Saviour of all. The use of them is in our hands, the effect in His. HOOKE, V. LX. 4. If Christ Himself, which giveth salvation, do require Baptism, it is not for us, that look for salvation, to examine Him whether unbaptized men may be saved, but seriously to do that which is required, and religiously to fear the danger which may grow from the want thereof.

Wisd. xvi. 7.

Q. By whom are the Sacraments administered?

A. By persons lawfully¹ called and sent for that purpose.

John xx. 21,
22.
Matt. xxviii.
19.

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxiii.

Q. By what name are the Ministers of the

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Sacraments distinguished from those to whom they minister?

A. They are called κληρικοί, *clerici*, *clerks*, or *clergy*; and are thus distinguished from the other members of the Church, who are called λαός, or *laity*¹.

¹ S. CLEMENT, Ep. ad Cor. i. 40. Abp. De MARCA, Dissertation de discrimine laicorum et clericorum (in the Appendix to his Concordia), p. 84.

Q. What is the origin of these words?

A. The Clergy are so called from κλήρος¹, *a lot* or *portion*, because they are allotted and consecrated to God, or because He and His Church is their lot and inheritance; and the Laity² of the Christian Church are so termed, as being the chosen nation and peculiar people of God.

¹ SUIDAS, κλήρος, τὸ σύστημα τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.

S. HIERON. ad Nepotian. de vitâ Clericorum. Propterea vocantur *Clerici* vel quia de sorte sunt Domini vel quia Dominus sors, id est pars, Clericorum est.

S. CHRYSOST. in Act. Apost. i. 17, 18. Ἐλαχε τὸν κλήρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης· κλήρον δὲ αὐτὸν καλεῖ δεικνύς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος τὸ πᾶν ὄν, καὶ ἀναμνήσκων αὐτοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκκληρώσατο καθάπερ τοὺς Λευίτας. Vide et in i. 26. ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλήρος ἐπὶ Ματθίαν.

Num. xviii. 24. Vers. LXXII. ἐγὼ ἡ μερίς σου καὶ ἡ κληρονομία σου. The word κληρικοί was sometimes, indeed, applied in ancient times to the *inferior* Ministers, the superior being called ἱερεῖς.

² Bp. BILSON, Perpet. Government of Christ's Church, chap. x. p. 202, ed. Oxf. 1842. And so the learned know the word λαός, whence *lay* is derived, importeth even "the Lord's peculiar people;" which distinction of people from priest is neither profane nor strange in the Scriptures. "There shall be," saith Esay, "like people, like priest." And so saith Osee; as also Jeremy divideth the Church into

Is. xxiv. 2.

Hosea iv. 4.

Jer. xxiii.

11. xxvi. 7.

the "prophet," "priest," and "people." As for the name of CHAP. VIII.
Clergymen, Jerome saith, "Therefore are they called Clergymen, or Clerks, either because they are the Lord's portion (to serve the Church of Christ), or for that the Lord is their portion and part (to live on such things as are dedicated to the Lord)."

Q. But how is this assertion of the necessity of a call and ordination of *special* persons consistent with the expressions of St. Peter to *whole* congregations, "Ye are a chosen generation, a 1 Pet. ii. 9.
royal priesthood;" and of St. John, "He hath Rev. i. 6.
made us unto our God kings and priests?" Do not these words seem to intimate that *all* Christians are priests to God?

A. Certainly they do. *All* men, especially all who are in authority and in eminent stations, as Kings, Nobles, Magistrates, Statesmen, Legislators, Poets, Parents, are in a certain sense Priests of God ¹, and are consecrated to His service. In the words of St. Augustine², "Christians, *whether lay or clergy*, are priests, for they are all members of the one High Priest Jesus Christ. They are a holy Temple of God, and their souls are His altars, on which they do sacrifice to Him;" but then the *special* ministration of God's Word and Sacraments is committed to certain persons, who have accordingly, in Scripture, particular designations, as being *separated* for the work whereunto they are called ³; whence arise the relative duties of Clergy and Laity which are enjoined in numerous places of Holy Writ; and "*Ecclesia non est*," says St. Jerome, "*quæ non habet Sacerdotes*" ⁴." Christ gave not *all*, but *some* Apostles, and *some* Prophets, for the work of the *ministry*, says St. Acts xiii. 2.
1 Cor. ix.
11. 13.
Gal. vi. 6.
1 Thess. v.
12. 13.
Phil. ii. 29.
1 Tim. v. 17.
Heb. xiii. 7.
17.
Acts xx. 28.

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Ephes. iv.
11, 12.
1 Cor. xii.
29.
1 Cor. xiv.
16.
James v. 14.

Paul, and he asks, "Are *all* Apostles? are *all* Prophets? are *all* Teachers?" No; every one in his own order. And St. James would not have directed Priests to be sent for, if *every one* was a Priest; and by such a general interpretation of St. Peter's and St. John's words, all degrees, civil as well as ecclesiastical, would be confounded; for then *every one* would be not only a *Priest*, but *every one* would also be a *King*. On the contrary, the expression is itself an evidence and proof that *special priests* as well as *special Kings* are designed of God; and its true meaning is, that *Christians* are to be distinguished, in spiritual things, from the *rest* of the world, as *Kings* and *Priests*, each in their respective functions, are distinguished from others who have not their peculiar duties.

¹ S. AUGUST. in Joan. Evang. Tractatus li. Cum ergo auditis, fratres, Dominum dicentem, *Ubi ego sum, illic et minister meus erit*; nolite tantummodo bonos *Episcopos* et *Clericos* cogitare. Etiam *vos* pro modo vestro ministrare Christo, bene vivendo, eleemosynas faciendo, nomen doctrinamque ejus quibus potueritis prædicando; ut unusquisque etiam *pater familias* hoc nomine agnoscat paternum affectum suæ familiæ se debere. Pro Christo et pro vitâ æternâ, suos omnes admoneat, doceat, hortetur, corripiat; impendat benevolentiam, exercent disciplinam; ita in domo suâ ecclesiasticum et quodammodo *Episcopale* implebit officium, ministrans Christo, ut in æternum sit cum ipso.

² S. AUG. de Civ. Dei, xx. 10. Psalm xciv. p. 1465.

³ TERTULLIAN, de Baptism. 17. Dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi *non tamen* sine Episcopi auctoritate. TERTULLIAN, de Coron. 3. Eucharistiæ sacramentum non *de aliorum manu* quam *præsentium* sumimus. See S. HIERON, below, p. 91, 92.

TERTULLIAN, de Præscript. Hæret. 39, on the practice of *heretical* as opposed to that of *Catholic* congregations:—Ord-

nationes eorum temerariæ, leves, inconstantes. Itaque alius CHAP. VIII.
hodie Episcopus, cras alius; hodie Diaconus qui cras Lector;
hodie Presbyter qui cras Laicus.

OPTATUS, ad Parmen. ii. 25. Quatuor genera sunt in Ecclesiâ, *Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum, et Fidelium.*

⁴ S. HIERON. adv. Lucif. c. 8. S. CHRYSOSTOM ad 1 Cor. 1 Cor. xiv. 16.
xiv. 16.

ORDINAL of the Church of England. There shall be a Sermon declaring . . . how *necessary* the Order of Priests is in the Church of Christ.

HOOKE, III. XI. 18. We hold that God's clergy are a state which *hath been and will be* (as long as there is a Church upon earth) *necessary*, by the plain *Word of God Himself*, a state, whereunto the rest of God's people must be subject as touching things that appertain to their souls' health. See below, p. 83, 84.

Q. You spoke of special persons, lawfully called and sent; who are they?

A. Those "who are tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for their office, and are also, by public prayer and imposition of hands, approved and appointed thereto by lawful authority¹."

¹ Pref. to ORDINAL of the Church of England. XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxiii. CANONS of 1603, xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv.

Q. You mean, therefore, that no man may undertake *of himself* the duties of the Christian Ministry?

A. I do. "No one taketh this honour unto himself¹, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." Aaron and his sons were appointed by God to wait on the Priest's office; and "the stranger that came nigh" was to be put to death. "A man can receive nothing unless it be given him from above." "He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same

Isa. xlix. 1.
Jer. xxiii. 21.
Gal. i. 15.
Heb. v. 4.
Exod. xxviii. 1.
Num. iii. 10.
xviii. 3-6.
John x. 1.

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 Acts xix. 14. assumed Apostolic functions were overcome by
 the Evil Spirit. And an awful warning against
 any such assumption is contained in the history of
 Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were destroyed
 by God for invading the priestly office, and of
 King Uzziah, who was smitten with leprosy for
 so doing. Nay, more, Uzzah was smitten by God
 for touching the ark, (which, not being a *Levite*, he
 could not lawfully do,) though he put forth his
 hand with a good intention to stay it.

Num. xvi.
 32—34.
 xviii. 3.
 2 Chron.
 xxvi. 16. 19.
 2 Sam. vi. 6.
 1 Chron.
 xiii. 10.

¹ S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccl. p. 111. Hi sunt qui se præpositos sine ullâ ordinationis lege constituunt, qui, nemine Episcoporum dante, Episcopi sibi nomen assumunt.

S. CYPRIAN, Ep. 69, p. 182. Quomodo Pastor ille vocari potest qui, manente vero Pastore et in Ecclesiâ Dei ordinatione succedaneâ præsidente, nemini succedens, et a se ipso incipiens, alienus sit et Dominicæ pacis ac divinæ unitatis inimicus?

Bp. BARLOW, on the Necessity of a Lawful Call to the Ministry. Remains, p. 613. See also below, p. 81, and chap. xi.

Q. But if Aaron was called by God, why may not a person who believes that he has a Divine call take upon him this function?

A. Aaron was not only *called by God*, but, at
 Lev. viii. 1—36.
 Ecclus. xlv. 16. God’s express command, was *visibly ordained by Moses*. And St. Paul asks, “How shall they preach
 Rom. x. 15. except they be *sent* ¹?”

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxiii.

HOOKE, III. XI. 18. A solemn *admittance* to charge in the Church is of such *necessity*, that without it there can be no Church Polity.

LESLIE, Discourse on the Necessity of an outward Commission.

Q. Does the necessity of a due visible *mission* appear from the *New Testament*? CHAP. VIII.

A. Yes. Even Christ glorified not Himself, to be made an High Priest. He did not enter on His office till He was *visibly* and *audibly* commissioned to do so. And in the same way the Twelve and the Seventy were *chosen, called, and sent* by Him¹.

Is. xlvii. 16.
lxi. 1.
Matt. iii. 16,
17.
Luke iv. 18.
Matt. iv. 19.
21. x. 40.
xv. 24.
John i. 32.
vi. 70.
Acts i. 24.
Luke x. 1.

¹ S. AMBROSE, Epist. xlv.

Q. Does this further appear from the titles of Christ's Ministers?

A. Yes. An *Apostle* (Ἀπόστολος) does not signify one who *comes*, but one who is *sent*; so Ministers are called in Scripture Κήρυκες, namely, *Heralds*, and Πρέσβεις, *Ambassadors*; that is, they are persons who do *not present themselves on their own authority*, but who come with a *commission publicly given them by others*¹; and their office is named in the New Testament a διακονία, λειτουργία, and οἰκονομία, that is, a *ministry, service, and stewardship*, not an independent function.

1 Tim. ii. 7.
Jōhn x. 8.
v. 43.
2 Tim. i. 11.
2 Pet. ii. 5.
2 Cor. v. 20.
Jer. xxiii.
21. 32.

¹ S. AUG. iv. 1375. Dixit Christus, 'Omnes qui venerunt fures sunt et latrones;' id est qui venerunt suā sponte, a Me non sunt missi, qui venerunt sine Me, in quibus Ego non fui.

S. AUG. in S. Joann. xlv. Non præter Christum sed cum Illo Prophetæ venerunt. Venturus Christus illos præcones misit.—c. Faust. xvi. 12.

Rom. xii. 7.
1 Cor. iii. 5.
xii. 5. xvi.
15.
2 Cor. v. 18.
Col. iv. 17.
1 Tim. i. 12.
2 Tim. iv. 5.
Phil. ii. 17.
1 Cor. ix. 17.
Eph. iii. 2.
2 Cor. ix. 12.

THEOPHYLACT in l. c. S. Joann. p. 645. κλεπταὶ καὶ λησταὶ—οἱ οὗτοι ἦλθον, οὐχ ὅσοι ἀπεστάλησαν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ προφῆται ἀποσταλέντες παρεγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ψευδοπροφῆται οἱοὶ καὶ οἱ ῥηθέντες στασιασταὶ, μηδενὸς ἀποστείλαντος ἦλθον, ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ τῶν ἀπατωμένων.

S. HIERON. Proœm. in S. Matth. In venientibus est præsumptio temeritatis, in missis est obsequium servitutis.

Q. Since, then, a man cannot take this office

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upon himself, but must receive it visibly from some lawful authority, *what* is that lawful authority?

John xvii.

18.

xx. 21.

Matt. xxviii.

20.

1 Pet. i. 1.

Acts xiii. 3.

xiv. 23.

1 Tim. iv. 14.

v. 22.

2 Tim. ii. 2.

A. First, in the beginning, that of Christ Himself; and then after Him, that of those whom Christ sent, saying unto them, "*As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you :*" "and lo, I am with you *always*, even *to the end of the world ;*" and who therefore, being thus sent, were commissioned to send others, in a *never-ending succession*, as Christ, Who sent them, was sent of God. Christ was ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀπόστολος; the Twelve were Christ's Apostles; and every Minister, lawfully ordained, is an Ἀπόστολος of the Apostles¹.

See above,
p. 61.

¹ S. CLEMENS, Ep. ad Cor. cap. xlii. ἐξεπέμφθη ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἱ κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθέστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ Διακόνους.

HOOKE, V. LXXVII. 1. In that they are Christ's Ambassadors,—who should give them authority, but He Whose most inward affairs they manage? What angel of heaven could have said to man, as our Lord did unto Peter, 'Feed My sheep,—preach,—baptize;—do this in remembrance of Me;—whose sins ye retain, they are retained; and their offences in heaven pardoned, whose faults ye shall on earth forgive?'

Q. Together with a lawful call and visible mission, what else is necessary to constitute a person duly and fully a Minister of Christ?

A. He must also receive the *ordaining grace* of the Holy Spirit of God, investing him with the power of dispensing God's word and sacraments; of remitting and retaining sins; of praying for God's people, and of blessing them in His Name; and this the Holy Spirit¹ confers by the hands

Matt. xxviii.

19.

John xx. 21.

23. xiv. 27.

Matt. x. 13.

of the successors of the Apostles, in the Office CHAP. IX.
of Ordination².

¹ Bp. BILSON, Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, p. 160. To create Ministers by imposing hands, is to give them not only power and leave to preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments, but also *the Grace of the Holy Ghost*, to make them able to execute both parts of their function. *This can none give but they that first received the same.*

HOOKE, V. LXXVII. 8. When we take ordination, we also receive the presence of the Holy Ghost.—Whether we preach, pray, communicate, condemn, give absolution, or whatsoever we do, as disposers of God's mysteries, our words, judgments, acts, and deeds, are not ours, but the Holy Ghost's.

Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. viii. It is the office of the Holy Spirit to sanctify and set apart persons for the duty of the Ministry, *ordaining them to intercede between God and His People, to send up prayers to God for them, to bless them in the Name of God, to teach the doctrine of the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments* instituted by Christ, to perform all things necessary “for the perfecting of the Eph. iv. 12.
saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.”

² On the Subject of this Chapter, see further below, Part ii. Chapter vi.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE THREE ORDERS OF MINISTERS IN THE CHURCH.

Q. ARE all ordained Ministers of *equal* rank and dignity?

A. No.

Q. How many degrees are there of them?

A. There are *Three Orders* in the Christian

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Church, as there were three in the Church of the Jews.

Q. What are they called?

A. The orders of BISHOPS, PRIESTS, and DEACONS¹, corresponding to those of High Priests, Priests, and Levites².

¹ S. IGNAT. ad Trall. iii. χωρὶς τούτων (Ἐπισκόπου, Πρεσβυτέρων καὶ Διακόνων) Ἑκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.

OPTATUS de Schismate Donatist. ii. 14. Certa membra sua habet Ecclesia, *Episcopos, Presbyteros, Diaconos*, Ministros, et turbam *fidelium*. OPTATUS, ii. 24. Cum sint (sicut supra dixi) quatuor genera capitum in Ecclesiâ, *Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum*, et *Fidelium*, nec uni parcere voluistis, evertistis animas hominum. Agnoscite vos animas evertisse. Invenistis *Diaconos, Presbyteros, Episcopos* : fecistis *Laicos*. Agnoscite vos animas evertisse. See above, p. 78. BINGHAM, II. xix. 15.

² S. HIERON. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evag. Ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de vetere Testamento, quod Aaron et Filii ejus atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, et Presbyteri, et Diaconi, vindicent in Ecclesiâ,

S. CLEM. cap. xl. p. 138—140. ed. Jacobson. Τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ (Episcopo) ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἶσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι (Presbyteris) ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευῖταις (Diaconis) ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.

THEOPHYL. in S. Luc. xix., on the differences and various functions of the *Three Orders*.

Q. What is the derivation and meaning of the word *Bishop*?

A. It is derived from the Greek Ἐπίσκοπος, which signifies one who *inspects* or *overlooks* others, for the sake of guiding, governing, and correcting them¹.

¹ S. AUG. ad Ps. cxxvi. Ideo altior locus est Episcopis, ut ipsi *superintendent* et quasi custodiant populum. Nam et Græce quod dicitur *Episcopus*, hoc Latine *Superintendentor* dici-

tur. Quo modo Vinitori altior locus ad custodiendam Vineam, sic et Episcopis altior locus factus est. CHAP. IX.

Q. What is the derivation and meaning of the name of the second order?

A. *Priest*, or *Presbyter*, is derived from the Greek Πρεσβύτερος, and signifies a superior, properly in age, and thence also in *worth and gravity*¹.

¹ Bp. BILSON, Perpetual Gov. p. 202. The name of Presbyter I use for those whom the Apostles call Πρεσβύτερους, presbyters, (whence our tongue, following the French, long since derived *Priests*,) who for their age should be elders, and by their office are Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, and Overseers of the Flock of Christ.

VALCKEN. in Theocr. Adoniaz. p. 111. 150. 'Ο Προφῆς, vetere linguâ Πρέσβυς, ætate venerandus. BLOMF. Gloss. d Æsch. S. c. Theb. 386, on its derivative meanings.

Q. Whence is the word *Deacon* derived?

A. From the Greek Διάκονος, a minister or servant, from διήκω, *to go through* or *despatch*¹; and the term διακονεῖν, *to serve*, is used in the Acts of the Apostles (vi. 12) to designate their office, which was a *holy*² function, though partly concerned about secular matters.

¹ BUTTMANN, Lexilogus, p. 232, ed. 1836.

The writers of the Western Church use also the participial form *Diacon*, genitive *Diaconis*.

² Bp. PEARSON in Acta Apostolorum, p. 53, in cap. vi. 1. Hos (Diaconos) constituerunt ante conspectum Apostolorum et (Apostoli scilicet) imposuerunt eis manus. Ita Ordo quidam in Ecclesiâ singularis jam tum impositione manuum institutus est. Actus quidem ad quem tum instituti sunt nihil est quam διακονεῖν τραπεζαῖς . . . Officium tamen non fuit mere civile aut æconomicum, sed sacrum etiam sive Ecclesiasticum. Mensæ enim tum temporis communes et sacræ etiam fuere; hoc est, in communi convictu Sacramentum Eucharistiæ celebrabant. Clarum autem est hos viros septem ad sacrum officium electos fuisse atque ordinatos. Eligebantur enim non alii quam qui erant *pleni Spiritu Sancto* et

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sapientiâ; *ordinabantur autem per manuum Apostolicarum impositionem*. Quin et Stephanus paulo post *prædicavit Evangelium*, et Philippus *catechizavit et baptizavit Eunuchum*. Qui quidem ἀπὸ τοῦ διακονεῖν dicti sunt διάκονοι, de quibus sæpe in Epistolis Apostolicis legimus; quorum officium nullibi quàm in hoc loco (Act. vi. 1) legitur institutum. Ut autem hi septem viri Apostolis adjuncti sunt in procurando ministerio quotidiano, ita in primitivâ Ecclesiâ *Diaconi semper Episcopis Apostolorum successoribus adjuncti sunt*.

Q. How long have these *Three Orders* of Ministers existed in the Christian Church?

A. In and from the times of the Holy Apostles.

Q. How does this appear?

2 Tim. i.

6—14.

2 Tim. ii. 2.

1 Tim. iii.

2—5.

Titus i. 1—9.

Acts vi. 1—5.

1 Tim. iii. 2.

8—13.

James v. 14.

2 Tim. iv.

1—8.

A. That there are these *Three Orders* in the Church, and that a religious community is not *duly* and *fully* a *Church* without them, is evident “from Scripture and ancient authors¹,” especially from the writings of St. Ignatius², the disciple of St. John, and bishop of Antioch, and martyr; of St. Polycarp³, the disciple and companion of St. John, and bishop of Smyrna, and martyr; of St. Irenæus, disciple of Polycarp, bishop of Lyons, and martyr; and of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and martyr; and of other Fathers and Doctors of the Christian Church in succession, from General⁴ and Provincial Synods, and from the universal primitive and successive *practice* of the Church.

¹ Preface to the ORDINAL of the United Church of England and Ireland; and Canons of 1603, Canon xxxii.

² S. IGNAT. ad Trall. iii. χωρὶς τούτων (ἐπισκόπου, πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων,) Ἑκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.—Ibid. 7. ad Magnes. 7. μὴ ὑμεῖς ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε.—Ad Phil. 7. ad Smyrn. 8.

³ Oς Ἰωάννη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀποστόλοις συνδιέτριψε. (Concil. Lugdun. sub Irenæo. Routh, R. S. i. p. 393.)

S. IREN. iii. 3. *Tertullian* de Præscr. Hæret. 32.

⁴ CONCIL. NICÆN. can. 18. ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίους μέτροις, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρεταὶ εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους. CHAP. X.

LESLIE, C. Supplement to Discourse on the Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments (in the Scholar Armed, i. 105). See above p. 78.

CHAPTER X.

BISHOPS ;

Divine Institution of Episcopacy.

Q. Whom do Bishops succeed and represent ?

A. The Holy Apostles ¹.

¹ S. IREN. iii. 3. Habemus enumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi, et *successores eorum* usque ad nos.

TERTULLIAN, Præscr. Hæret. 32. Edant (sc. hæretici) origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita *per successiones* ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris habuerit auctorem et antecessorem.

S. CYPRIAN. Ep. 66. Episcopi sunt præpositi qui Apostolis vicariâ *ordinatione succedunt*.

S. HIERON. Ep. ad Evag. Omnes Episcopi Apostolorum *successores sunt*. Ad Marcellam, Ep. 5. Apud nos Apostolorum Episcopi locum tenent. S. AUG. in Ps. xlv. *Patres missi sunt Apostoli, pro Apostolis Filii nati sunt Ecclesiæ, constituti sunt Episcopi*. EPIPHAN. Hæres. 79. ἐξ Ἰακώβου καὶ τῶν προειρημένων Ἀποστόλων κατεστάθησαν διαδοχαὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.

Q. Why then are they not called Apostles ?

A. Because in the first Christian age the name *Apostle* described one who had been *personally*

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Matt. x. 5.
xxviii. 19.
Mark xvi.
15.

Acts i. 26.
ix. 15. xiii.
2. xiv. 14.

sent (ἀποσταλέντα) by CHRIST HIMSELF; it was therefore *reserved*¹ to the Twelve appointed by Him, and was not assumed by any of their successors, except St. Matthias, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas, whose calls were of a peculiar kind, (St. Matthias being chosen by lot, St. Paul being called by Christ Himself, and he and St. Barnabas being separated for their work by special command of the Holy Ghost,) and who are thence called *Apostles* in Holy Writ.

¹ See THEODORET, quoted below, p. 89.

Q. The successors of the Apostles could not then, it seems, take the name of Ἀπόστολος, but why did they assume that of Ἐπίσκοπος?

Ps. cix. 8.

A. Because none was more appropriate than *Episcopus* on account of its signification before-mentioned (p. 84), and because the term ἐπισκοπή¹ had been already used in the Septuagint version of the Psalms to describe the apostleship of Judas, to which St. Matthias succeeded; and because, in the Apostolic age, Ἐπίσκοπος was the name of the order immediately *next* in rank to that of the Apostles. Henceforth, then, Ἐπίσκοπος was applied to an *overlooker of (many) pastors*, having previously signified in the Church an *overlooker of a (single) flock*².

¹ Act. Apost. i. 21. Ps. cix. 8. τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος.—Cp. Esa. lx. 17. δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. Compare especially S. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. xlii. xliii. xliv.

² Hence St. Peter writes, 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, πρεσβυτέρους παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, ποιμάνετε τὸ ποιμνίον, ἐπισκοποῦντες μὴ ἀναγκάστως.

Q. Had then, before this period, the terms *Bishop* and *Presbyter* signified the same thing? CHAP. X.

A. No. They never meant the same thing, though they sometimes designated the same person¹, who was called Ἐπίσκοπος from his office, as inspector of a Christian flock, and Πρεσβύτερος, from his age and dignity.

1 Tim. iii.
1, 2.
Titus i.
5—7.

¹ S. CHRYSOSTOM, Theodoret, et Œcumen. in Epist. Philipp. c. i. τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐπισκόπους ἐκάλεσε.

THEODORET, in 1 Tim. c. iii. τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους Ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον· τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προ-
ιόντος τὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀποστολῆς ὄνομα τοῖς ἀληθῶς Ἀποστό-
λοις κατέλιπον, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τοῖς πάλαι καλου-
μένοις Ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν, οὕτω Φιλιππησίων Ἀπόστολος
ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἦν.—Cp. ad Phil. i. 1. This fact of Epaphroditus being the *Bishop* of Philippi, will explain why the Epistle is addressed ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις, (ch. i. 1.) for Epaphroditus, their Ἀπόστολος (as he is called by St. Paul) or *Bishop*, was then with St. Paul (ch. ii. 25); and ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις therefore (in ch. i. 1.) is to be rendered, *Priests and Deacons*.

Q. It appears, then, that the same word Ἐπίσκοπος was employed to designate two different offices in two successive ages?

A. Not exactly; for even from the beginning the word *Episcopus* was applied to the highest office in the Church, although it did not exclude the second order.

1 Pet. ii. 25.
Acts xx. 17.
28.
Tit. i. 5, 7.
1 Tim. iii.
1, 2.

Q. But is it not somewhat surprising that a term (Ἐπίσκοπος), which you say did not exclude the second order in the first age of Christianity, should have afterwards been applied exclusively to the first?

A. No; there is no more cause for surprise that an overlooker of *pastors* should afterwards be

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specially called Ἐπίσκοπος, when an overlooker of a flock had been previously called so, than that Augustus and all his successors in the Roman empire should be called *Imperatores*, when in the age preceding him, and indeed in his own age, all victorious *Generals*, as Lucullus, Pompey, and Mark Antony, had been called *Imperatores*; or that a large combination of provinces should be called *Diæcesis* by and after the Emperor Constantine, when, before his time, a single province had been termed so¹.

¹ BENTLEY, Remarks upon a late Discourse of Freethinking, Cam. 1743. p. 136, 137. They (the Bishops), with all Christian Antiquity, never thought themselves and their order to succeed the Scripture Ἐπίσκοποι, but the Scripture Ἀπόστολοι: they were διάδοχοι τῶν Ἀποστόλων, the *successors of the Apostles*. The sum of the matter is this:—Though new institutions are formed, new words are not coined for them, but old ones borrowed and applied. Ἐπίσκοπος, whose general idea is *overseer*, was a word in use long before Christianity; a word of universal relation to œconomical, civil, military, naval, judicial, and religious matters. This word was assumed to denote the governing and presiding persons of the Church, as Διάκονος (another word of vulgar and diffused use) to denote the ministerial.

The Presbyters, therefore, while the Apostles lived, were Ἐπίσκοποι, *overseers*. But the Apostles, in foresight of their approaching martyrdom, having selected and appointed their successors in the several cities and communities, as St. Paul did Timothy at Ephesus, and Titus at Crete, A.D. 64, four years before his death; what name were these successors to be called by? not Ἀπόστολοι, *Apostles*; their modesty, as it seems, made them refuse it: they would keep that name proper and sacred to the first extraordinary messengers of Christ, though they really succeeded them in their office, in due part and measure, as the ordinary governors of the Churches.

It was agreed, therefore, over all Christendom at once, in the very next generation after the Apostles, to assign and appropriate to them the word Ἐπίσκοπος, or Bishop. From

that time to this, that appellation, which before included a *Presbyter*, has been restrained to a superior order. And here's nothing in all this but what has happened in all languages and communities in the world. See the *Notitia* of the *Roman* and *Greek* Empires, and you'll scarce find one name of any state employment that in course of time did not vary from its primitive signification. The time has been when a commander even of a single regiment was called *Imperator*: and must every such, now-a-days, set up to be *Emperors*?

Q. But does not St. Jerome¹ say that, even in the *Apostolic* times, the Churches were governed by several Presbyters, who were also called Episcopi, *antequam instinctu diaboli studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Apollo, ego sum Cephæ; postquam autem unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos esse putabat non Christi, tum in toto orbe decretum est ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis cura Ecclesiæ pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur?*

A. Yes, he does; but in another place² he says that Bishops are the ordained successors of the Apostles; that St. James was Bishop of Jerusalem, immediately after the Ascension of Christ; that Episcopacy is an Apostolic ordinance; that Presbyters cannot ordain; that the safety of the Church consists in the dignity of its Bishop; and his assertion, just quoted, does, when examined, tend rather to confirm the doctrine of the Apostolic and Divine institution of Episcopacy.

¹ S. HIERON. in Tit. i. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evagrium.

² S. HIERON. (See above, note to first question in this chapter.) De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini,—post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus.

S. HIERON. in Lucif. c. 4. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacer-

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dotis dignitate consistit, cui si non exsors quædam et eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiâ efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine Chrismate et *Episcopi jurisdictione neque Presbyter neque Diaconus habeat jus baptizandi.*

S. HIERON. in Evagr. lxxxv. Quid enim facit, *exceptâ ordinatione*, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat? See below, chap. xi.

Q. How do you show this?

A. We do not deny that in the Apostolic age the names *Episcopi* and *Presbyteri* were applied to the same persons; but *then* there were at that time *Bishops* also, in our sense of the word, namely, the HOLY APOSTLES themselves: and (whatever may be alleged as the *reason* for the institution of Episcopacy) the *fact* and *time* of its institution are the only questions with which we are concerned. Now in this very passage St. Jerome testifies, that it was "*toto orbe decretum ut unus cæteris superponeretur, ad quem omnis Ecclesiæ cura pertineret.*" And that which was received throughout *the whole world*, and of which the *origin does not appear*, (and which Jerome himself seems to ascribe to the age of Apollos and Cephas, that is, to the *Apostolic* age, and, in the case of St. James, does, as we have seen, make immediately consequent on our Lord's Ascension,) could not be of *human* institution, if it were only from the rule of St. Augustine¹, "*Id quod universa tenet Ecclesia*, (as St. Jerome says is the case with *Episcopacy*,) *nec Conciliis institutum*, (and Councils all *presuppose Bishops*, for they *consist* of them,) *sed semper retentum, non nisi auctoritate Apostolicâ traditum esse rectissimè creditur.*"

¹ S. AUG. c. Donat. de Bapt. iv. 24. and v. c. 23. Quæ

universa tenet Ecclesia, ob hoc ab Apostolis præcepta bene creduntur.

HOOKE, VII. v. 2. 2, & VII. v. 8. BARROW, de Regimine Episcopali, iv. p. 24, sq. folio ed. 1687. Abp. POTTER, ch. iv. p. 193—197. Bp. PEARSON, Vind. Ignat. p. 177.

H. GROTIUS, iv. p. 272. Episcopatum ab *universali Ecclesiâ receptum* fuisse apparet *ex Conciliis Universalibus*: apparet etiam ex collectione Synodorum aut nationalium aut provincialium. *Patres omnes, nemine excepto*, Episcopalem eminentiam testantur, quorum is qui minimum Episcopatui defert est *Hieronymus*; hujus sufficit testimonium, "*In toto orbe decretum*," &c. Episcopatum initium Apostolicis temporibus habuisse testantur *catalogi* Episcoporum apud Irenæum, Eusebium, Socratem.—Episcopatum *divino jure approbatum* fuisse, irrefragabile argumentum præbet divina *Apocalypsis*. See also GROTII Epist. p. 914. Cum quæritur an Episcopatus juris divini sit—*satis* est Christum in Apostolorum Collegio id dedisse exemplum: Apostolos id secutos et Ecclesiæ Universæ consensum manifestissimum, si pauci et quidem nostri tantum sæculi novatores excipiantur: cf. p. 923. So writes Grotius, although he was by birth and education a *Presbyterian*. See below, at end of chap. xi.

HOOKE, VII. v. 8. In all this there is no let why *St. Jerome* might not think the Authors of Episcopal regiment to have been the very blessed *Apostles* themselves, directed therein by the special motion of the Holy Ghost, which the *ancients all before and beside him*, and *himself* also elsewhere, are known to hold.

GIBBON, Rom. Hist. ch. xv. "Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo" has been a *fact* as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus; after we have passed over the difficulties of the first century, we find the *Episcopal government universally* established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers. See below, p. 96.

Q. Since then it was both rational and probable that, if there was such an individual superintendent of pastors as you have described, he should be called an Ἐπίσκοπος, can you prove

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from Scripture that at the close of the *Apostolic age* there were in fact such superintendents besides the Apostles?

A. Yes; such were St. Timothy and St. Titus.

Tit. i. 5.

They were not *Apostles*¹,—not being of *directly Divine* appointment, as all the Apostles, including St. Matthias, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas, were,—they were never so called; and they were not mere

1 Tim. v.
17—22.

Presbyters, for they are commanded by St. Paul to *ordain*², to *charge*, to *rebuke* Preachers, and to *superintend* the doctrine and conduct of both

Titus ii. 15.

Presbyters and *Deacons*, and this with *all authority* (μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς), but, *Par in parem non habet imperium*.

¹ EUSEB. H. E. iii. 4. iii. 12—15, pp. 149—176, ed. Burton. See above, p. 87, 88.

² Bp. BILSON, on the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, chap. v. p. 89. Oxford, 1842. These were charged by Paul to "require and command" the pastors and preachers to refrain from false doctrine, and "to stop their mouths" or "reject" them that did otherwise; "to ordain elders" according to the necessity of the places, and "receive accusations against them;" and "sharply" and "openly to rebuke" them if they sinned, and that "with all authority." These things the Apostle earnestly requireth, and, before Christ and His elect angels, chargeth Timothie and Tite to do. It is, then, evident they might so do: for how vain and frivolous were all those protestations made by St. Paul, if Timothie and Tite had only voices amongst the rest, and nothing to do but as the rest!

1 Tim. i. 3.

Titus i. 11.
iii. 10.

i. 5. 13.

1 Tim. v.
19, 20.

Titus ii. 15.

Q. You say that they were not Apostles; was then their power Apostolic?

A. Yes: their office was similar to, and in the place of, that of the Apostles.

Q. How do you show this?

Tit. i. 5.

A. St. Paul tells Titus, that he had left him in

Crete, that he might *perfect* the things which he CHAP. X.
(St. Paul himself) had left *incomplete*¹.

¹ S. HIERON. ad Tit. c. i. Reliquit Titum Cretæ, ut rudimenta nascentis Ecclesiæ confirmaret, "*ut ea quæ deerant corrigeres.*" Omne autem quod corrigitur imperfectum est. Et in Græco præpositionis adjectio quâ scribitur ἐπιδιορθώσης non id ipsum sonat quod διορθώσης corrigeres, sed *super corrigeres*; ut quæ a me correcta sunt nedum ad plenam veri lineam retracta a te corrigantur et normam æqualitatis accipiant.

Q. Does this superintending and governing power, resident in one individual, appear in any other part of Scripture?

A. Yes; in the Revelation of St. John, where each of the seven Asiatic Churches is represented as having a chief pastor, who is called by the Holy Spirit the *Angel* of the Church¹.

¹ S. AUG. Ep. xliii. Divinâ voce laudatur sub *Angeli* nomine Præpositus Ecclesiæ. (S. AUG.?) in Apocalyps. Hom. ii. Ecclesiæ et angeli Ecclesiarum intelligi debent Episcopi aut Præpositi Ecclesiarum.

SARAVIA, de Minist. Eccl. p. 29, observes, that the Spirit blames some of the Angels of the Churches, but that He never blames them *for being Angels*. See also GROTIUS, quoted above, p. 93.

Q. But to ascend higher; does the succession of the chief pastors to the Apostles appear to have been directly *authorized* by CHRIST?

A. It does. The Episcopal government of the Church was originally *founded* in the *person* and *office* of our blessed LORD Himself.

Q. How does this appear?

A. As follows: CHRIST being sent by His Father¹, to be the great Apostle, Bishop, and Pastor of the Church, as He is called in Scrip-

Heb. iii. 1.
1 Pet. ii. 25.

PART I. ture, and being visibly consecrated to that office
 Acts x. 38. by the Holy Ghost, sent his Apostles as His
 Luke iii. 22. Father had sent Him. He gave to them the
 Holy Ghost as His Father had given to Him;
 John xx. 21, and commissioned them to execute the same apos-
 22. xvii. 18. tolic, episcopal, and pastoral office, in their own
 2 Tim. ii. 2. persons, and in that of their successors, for the
 governing of His Church until His coming again,
 Matt. xxviii. promising to be with them "alway, even unto the
 18—20. end of the word."

¹ Bp. SANDERSON, Postscript to Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power, pp. 137. 140. 1673.

Q. Do we read in Scripture of any *act* of the Apostles done with a view to *continue* this succession from themselves?

A. Yes: their very *first* act after the Ascension of Christ was done with a view to the appointment of one to take part in the ministry of the Apostleship (ἐπισκοπή), from which Judas by transgression fell, and whose *office* (ἐπισκοπή) was to be *taken by another*.
 Acts i. 20—25.
 Ps. cix. 8.

Q. It is justly said, that the best *Commentary* upon a law is *practice*, especially contemporary, universal and uninterrupted *practice*¹. Now how does the *practice* of the Church bear on the present question concerning the institution, authority, and obligation of Episcopacy?

A. The *universal practice* of the Church of Christ, *from its foundation* for more than² *fifteen hundred years without interruption*, shows Episcopacy to be of Divine institution, and to have been regarded by the Church as of inviolable authority. *Exitus variâsse debuerat error; cæterum quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est*

erratum *sed traditum*; et id Dominicum est et CHAP. X.
 verum quod prius traditum, id extraneum et fal-
 sum quod posterius immissum³.

¹ Ch. Justice COKE. *Consuetudo* optimus legum interpretes. Contemporanea expositio optima.

² Bp. BILSON, *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, xiii. p. 348, ed. Oxf. 1842. *No example* before our age can be showed that ever the Church of Christ, *in any place or time*, since the Apostles died, had any other form of government than by Bishops succeeding and ruling as well the Presbyters as the people that were under them.

HOOKE, Pref. iv. 1. We require you to find out *one Church upon the face of the whole earth* that hath not been ordained by Episcopal Regiment since the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.

Abp. LAUD, Sermon iii. A *Paritie* they would have; no Bishop, no Governor; but a Parochial Consistory. This *paritie* was never left to the Church of Christ. He left Apostles, and Disciples under them. It was never in use with the Church. *No Church ever any where*, till this last age, *without a Bishop*.

GROTIUS, tom. iv. p. 273. *Episcopatus est ab Ecclesiâ Universali receptus*; initium habuit ab Apostolicis temporibus, et divino judicio est approbatus. See above, p. 93; below, p. 105.

³ TERTULLIAN, *Præscr. Hæret.* c. 28. c. 31. adv. Marcion. iv. 5.

Q. Does any *other* form of Church Government appear to have existed in any of the Apostolic Churches?

A. No. "We have *no such custom*, nor the ¹ Cor. xi. 16. Churches of God." In *every case* where Catalogues¹ of Church Governors are extant, the series of pastors is traced back through individual and successive (and not through several, equal, co-existent, and contemporaneous) Governors, the first of them being some Apostle or some disciple of

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the Apostles; and as we have before said, there is *no* example of a single Church *without a Bishop for fifteen centuries after Christ*.

¹ S. Iren. iii. 3. EUSEB. H. E. III. 4. 10. V. 5. 22. 24. VII. 32. HOOKER, VII. v. 9. Bp. BILSON, Perpet. Gov. ch. xiii. pp. 334—340. BINGHAM, Antiq. ii. 1. 3, 4.

Q. What additional proof is there of the Divine institution of Episcopacy from ancient practice?

A. There is a strong confirmation of it in the fact, that not only *catholics*, but also *heretics* and *schismatics*¹, differing from the Church and from each other in many other respects, *all agreed* in recognizing the *necessity* of *Episcopal Government*, with one single exception, that of Aerius² (of Sebastia, in Pontus), in the fourth century, who on that special account, as well as for other reasons, is placed among *heretics* by the Fathers of the Church, and whose doctrine on that point was condemned by the Church as *sacrilegious*³.

¹ Bp. PEARSON, Vind. Ignat. c. 13.

² S. AUG. de Hæres. i. 33. Aerius dicebat Presbyterum ab Episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni.

BARROW, vol. iii. Sermon. xxiv. All Arians, Macedonians, Novatians, Donatists, maintained the distinction of Ecclesiastical Orders, and the duty of the inferior Clergy to their Bishops; and of this distinction was never made any question, except by Aerius, who found very few followers in his heterodoxy.

EPIPHAN. de Hæreticis, 75.

³ The General Council of Chalcedon declared, can. 39, Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς Πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν. Cp. Bp. ANDREWES, in Christian Institutes, iii. 234, and HOOKER, VII. ix.

Q. What are the words in which Hooker concludes his argument upon this subject?

A. "Let us not fear," he says, "to be herein CHAP. X.
bold and peremptory, and if *any thing* in the
Church's government, surely the first institution
of Bishops was from heaven, even of God, the
HOLY GHOST was the Author of it¹."

¹ HOOKER, VII. VI. 1. Compare VII. I. 4. Add to this the summary of the argument by Dr. Isaac BARROW. "The *primitive general use* of Christians most effectually doth back the Scripture, and interpret it in favour of this distinction (of Episcopal Government); for how otherwise is it imaginable, that all the *Churches* founded by the *Apostles* in several most distant and disjoined places (at *Jerusalem*, at *Antioch*, at *Alexandria*, at *Ephesus*, at *Corinth*, at *Rome*) should presently conspire in acknowledgement and use of it? how could it without apparent confederacy be formed, how could it creep in without notable clatter, how could it be admitted without considerable opposition, if it were not in the foundation of those Churches laid by the *Apostles*? How is it likely that in those times of grievous persecution falling chiefly upon the *Bishops* (when to be eminent among Christians yielded slender reward, and exposed to extreme hazard; when to seek pre-eminence was in effect to court danger and trouble, torture and ruin), an ambition of irregularly advancing themselves above their brethren should so generally prevail among the ablest and best Christians? How could those famous martyrs for the Christian truth be some of them so unconscionable as to affect, others so irresolute as to yield to, such injurious encroachments? and how could all the holy Fathers (persons of so renowned, so approved wisdom and integrity) be so blind as not to discern such a corruption, or so bad as to abet it? How, indeed, could all God's Church be so weak as to consent in judgment, so base as to comply in practice with it? In fine, how can we conceive, that all the best monuments of antiquity down from the beginning (the *Acts*, the *Epistles*, the *Histories*, the *Commentaries*, the *writings* of all sorts coming from the blessed *Martyrs* and most holy *Confessors* of our faith), should conspire to abuse us: the which do speak nothing but *Bishops*; long *Catalogues* and rows of *Bishops* succeeding in this and that city;

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CHILLINGWORTH, Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy demonstrated (in Christian Institutes, iii. 210. 214).

CHAPTER XI.

FUNCTIONS OF BISHOPS.

Q. When you say that Bishops are the successors of the Apostles, do you mean that they succeed them in *all* their Apostolic functions?

A. No: *some* of the functions of the Apostles were *ordinary* and *permanent* in their nature, such as those of 'preaching, administering the Sacraments, feeding the flock of Christ, giving attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine, exercising discipline, judging controversies, conferring with each other in Councils and Synods, confirming the baptized, ordaining (καθιστάναι, χειροτονεῖν²) and superintending ministers. *Other* functions were *extraordinary* and *temporary*, such as healing the sick, casting out devils, and speaking with tongues.

Bishops succeed the Apostles in their *ordinary*, but *not* in their *extraordinary* offices³.

¹ BINGHAM, Antiquities, ii. 3.

² S. CHRYSOST. in Tit. i. 5. ἵνα καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους—τῶν ἐπισκόπων λέγω τὰς χειροτονίας. In Philip. i. 1. οὐκ ἂν πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνησαν.

AMMONIUS ad Act. Apost. xiv. 23. οἱ περὶ Παῦλον ἐπι-

σπόπων εἶχον ἀξίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτόνουν οὐ μόνον δια- CHAP. XI.
κόνους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους. Timothy is said to have
received the χάρισμα of Holy Orders μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν
χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου (1 Tim. iv. 14.) but διὰ τῆς
ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν of St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. 6.

³ K. CHARLES I. in Christian Institutes, iii. p. 220. The
mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the
substance of it) was *ordinary*, and to continue to the end
of the world; and, therefore, necessarily to descend, and
be by them transmitted to others, as their substitutes and
successors. But the *unction*, whereby they were enabled
to both offices or functions, by the effusion of the Holy Matt. xxviii.
18—20.
Ghost in such a plenteous measure of knowledge, tongues,
miracles, prophesyings, healing, infallibility of doctrine, dis-
cerning of spirits, and such like, was, indeed, *extraordinary* in
them, and in some few others, though in an inferior measure,
as God saw it needful for the planting of the Churches and
propagation of the Gospel in those primitive times; and in
this (which was indeed *extraordinary* in them) they were not
necessarily to have successors.

His Majesty conceives that the succession of Bishops to
the Apostles into so much of their office as was *ordinary* and
perpetual, and such a distinction of Bishops and Presbyters
as his Majesty has formerly expressed, needs no further
confirmation from Scripture to such as are willing to make
use of their *reason* also; which, in interpreting Scripture,
upon all other occasions they are enforced to do.

Bp. CARLETON, de Ecclesiâ, cap. xi. p. 278. *Extraordi-*
naria Apostolorum potestas cum ipsis finem habuit; *ordinaria*
vero Episcopis commendata fuit atque in illis permansit.

Q. You speak of *Ordinations*—do you intend
to say that no one can confer Holy Orders except
Bishops?

A. Yes; “cases of inevitable necessity ex-
cepted, none may ordain but only Bishops¹” and
all other ordinations, whether by Presbyters or
any one else, have ever been regarded by the
Church as invalid².

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¹ HOOKER, VII. XIV. 11.² LEO M. Ep. 88. *Nunquam* auditum est quod Presbyteri Presbyteros aut Diaconos nedum Episcopos *ordinaverint*.

Bp. CARLETON, de Consensu Ecclesiæ contra Tridentinos, ii. p. 277. Si omnia Ecclesiæ sæcula lustremus ab Apostolis usque ad Patrum nostrorum memoriam, *non alia* ordinandi ratio invenitur nisi per *Episcopos*. SARAVIA, de Div. Minist. Grad. p. 33. Bp. BILSON, Perpet. Gov. of Christ's Church, p. 321.

Bp. PEARSON, Minor Works, ed. Churton, ii. 75. Per traditionem Apostolicam *tota* ordinandi potestas in Episcopis resedit; *nulli alii* unquam in Novo Testamento indulta est; nulli in vetere Ecclesiâ permissa. See also *ibid.* on Promiscuous Ordinations, 232—237.

Abp. POTTER, on Church Government, p. 285. The opinion of the primitive Church in this matter will be put beyond dispute, if we compare the judgment concerning Ischyra, who was ordained by one Coluthus, a mere *presbyter*, with that about the presbyters ordained by Meletius, a schismatical *bishop*. The latter having been ordained by one who had the episcopal character, were received as presbyters without being re-ordained; whereas Ischyra having received his orders from one who had not power to give them, was reckoned as a mere layman. This appears from the synodical epistles of the bishops of Egypt, Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis.

On this subject, see CABASSUTIUS, Concilia, cap. xi. p. 44. Osius Alexandriæ Concilium indixit, cujus meminit Athanasius, Apol. 2, vocatque generale Concilium, meminit ejus Socrates, iii. 5.—Addit Athanasius in eâ synodo Coluthum *Presbyterum* Alexandrinum, eò quod episcopus non esset, munus tamen episcopale obire et ordinare clericos attentasset, fuisse redactum in ordinem.—*Ibid.* cap. ii. p. 18. Synodus Alexandrina synodicam (epistolam) scripsit ad Julium Romæ episcopum, cæterosque omnes orbis Christiani præsules, quam integram epistolam refert Athanasius; ea fidem facit Ischyram ne *presbyterum* quidem esse sed *laicum*, quippe qui a Colutho manuum suscepisset ordinationem, qui non erat *Episcopus* sed *Presbyter*.

Hence the Church of England has decreed in her Ordinal,

“that no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in her communion, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he hath had *episcopal* consecration or ordination.” CHAP. XI.

STREITWOLF, *Libri Symbolici in Catechism. Conc. Trid.* c. vii. p. 442. Etiam schismaticis atque hæreticis persuasum fuisse *solas* ordinationes ab *episcopis* factas ratas esse deducitur ex iis, quæ Cornel. P. de Novatiano tradit in Ep. ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 43; and the Greek Church expressly condemned the opinion that non-episcopal ordinations are valid, in the Synodus Hierosolymitana, 1672, p. 436-7, ed. Kimmel, 1843.

Q. In maintaining the necessity of Episcopal Government, are we not guilty of want of charity by condemning those who are *without it*?

A. VERITAS est maxima CARITAS; TRUTH is the greatest CHARITY. It is no *charity* to connive at error, and to suppress truth; but it *is* charity to endeavour to remove error, and to maintain and communicate truth. Therefore our duty is, if we enjoy Episcopal Government, to thank God for it; and to pray to Him that they who have it not, whether from necessity¹, real or supposed, from inadvertence, indifference, or deliberate purpose, may at length become able and willing to receive it; and we are bound to be ready and desirous², as far as we are able, to encourage and promote such reception³.

¹ HOOKER, III. XI. 14. BRAMHALL, ii. 70.

Cp. Note to Christian Institutes, vol. iii. p. 258.

GERHARD, de Ecclesiâ, p. 372. vi. 183. 231. Art. Smalcald. art. x.; and the words of Calvin, Inst. iv. 4, 1.

The following is the very important testimony of the writers of the AUGSBURGH CONFESSION on this subject, subscribed by CALVIN himself, showing the desires of its framers for the preservation of Episcopacy in the foreign Reformed Churches. See De la Motte, Correspondence Fraternelle, p. 424, and Calvin, Opera, ix. p. 113.

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LIBRI SYMBOLICI Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ, &c. Lipsiæ, 1837. p. 204. Apologia Confessionis, (a P. MELANCTHON,) art. vii. § 24. "Hac de re in hoc conventu sæpe testati sumus, nos summâ voluntate *cupere conservare politiam Ecclesiasticam*, et gradus in Ecclesiâ factos etiam humanâ auctoritate. Scimus enim bono et utili consilio a Patribus Ecclesiasticam disciplinam hoc modo, ut veteres canones describunt, constitutam esse. Sed Episcopi sacerdotes nostros aut cogunt hoc *doctrinæ* genus, quod confessi sumus, abjicere et damnare, aut novâ et inauditâ crudelitate miseros et innocentes occidunt. Hæ causæ impediunt, quo minus agnoscant hos Episcopos nostri sacerdotes. Ita sævitia Episcoporum in causâ est, quare alicubi dissolvitur illa canonica politia, quam nos *magnopere cupiebamus conservare*. Ipsi viderint, quomodo rationem Deo reddituri sint, quod *dissipant Ecclesiam*.

"Porro hic iterum volumus testatum, nos libenter conservaturos esse Ecclesiasticam et Canonicam politiam, si modo Episcopi desinant in nostras Ecclesias sævire. Hæc nostra voluntas et coram Deo, et *apud omnes gentes*, ad omnem *posteritatem excusabit* nos, ne nobis *imputari possit quod Episcoporum auctoritas labefactatur*, ubi legerint atque audierint homines, nos injustam sævitiam Episcoporum deprecantes, nihil æqui impetrare potuisse."

The above is the LUTHERAN statement; for the ARMENIAN, the language of GROTIUS (above, p. 93, 105, and below, pt. ii. ch. v.) may be referred to; and the following are the words of CALVIN and BEZA:—

CALVINUS, Epist. ad Cardinal. Sadolet. Disciplinam, qualem habuit *vetus Ecclesia, nobis deesse* non diffitemur—sed cujus erit æquitatis nos eversæ disciplinæ ab iis accusari qui eam penitus sustulerunt? *Episcopatus a Deo profectus est; Episcopi munus Dei* autoritate constitutum est et legibus definitum.

CALVINUS, de Necessit. Reform. Eccles. Talem nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant in quâ sic emineant *Episcopi* ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab Illo tanquam ab unico Capite pendeant et ad Ipsum referantur; tum vero *nullo non anathemate dignos fatear*, si qui erunt, qui non eam reveantur, summâque obedientiâ observent.

BEZA ad Sarav. Tract. de Ministrorum Gradibus. Si qui

sunt qui omnem *Episcoporum* ordinem rejiciant, absit ut quis- CHAP. XII.
quam sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur!

² See the *desires* to this effect, expressed by Abp. Laud, Bps. Andrewes and Sanderson; *Christian Institutes*, iii. pp. 261. 216.

³ The exhortation of GROTIUS to the *Reformed Churches* of his own times may, it is to be hoped, find some persons in the present day able and willing to give it effect.—*Epist.* p. 975. Suaderem eis ut constituerent inter se quosdam in eminentiore gradu ut Episcopos, et ut iis *χειροθεσίαν* sumerent ab Archiepiscopo Hiberno, qui ibi est, et ita ordinati ordinarent, deinde pastores cæteros, atque sic initium facerent *redeundi* ad mores et antiquos et salutares; quibus contemptis licentia invaluit pro *novis opinionibus* faciendi *novas Ecclesias*, quæ *quid* post *aliquot annos credituræ* sint, nescimus. It would be superfluous to remark how fully the sad forebodings of these last words have been realized.

CHAPTER XII.

OF BISHOPS AS DIOCESANS, METROPOLITANS, AND PATRIARCHS.

Q. You have spoken of Bishops in general, and of their institution and offices; is not the performance of their duty, individually, and the *exercise* and *application* of their powers, restrained habitually in Christian States by laws ecclesiastical and civil, within certain limits?

A. Yes.

Q. And do not Bishops bear certain titles according to the limits within which their functions are exercised?

A. They do.

Q. Can you give any instances of such restrictions from Holy Scripture?

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Matt. xv.

24.

Gal. ii. 7—9.

Rom. xi. 13.

Acts xii. 17.

xv. 13. xxi.

18. Gal. i.

19. ii. 12.

1 Tim. i. 3.

Tit. i. 5.

Rev. i. 20.

Above,

p. 95. 97.

A. Yes. Our Lord Himself says, He was not “sent but to the lost sheep of the House of Israel.” St. Peter was specially the Apostle of the circumcision, and St. Paul of the Gentiles. St. James had special jurisdiction at Jerusalem, St. Timothy at Ephesus, St. Titus in Crete; and the seven Asiatic Churches had each their own Bishop respectively¹.

¹ Archbp. USHER, *Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*, Oxford, 1641. Archbp. De MARCA, *De Concordiâ*, vi. 1.

Q. Does this principle of distribution and restriction appear to have been generally received in the Church in ancient times?

A. Yes: and there were certain circumstances of a providential nature which rendered the uniform reception of it very easy and natural.

Q. What were these?

A. The *civil* divisions of the Roman empire¹, that is to say, of the greater part of the civilized world, in the early ages of Christianity, were admirably adapted to, and prepared for, the application of this distributive system and economy of *Church* government, throughout the whole extent of the Roman sway.

¹ HOOKER, VII. VIII. 7. BARROW, on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 163. BINGHAM, *Antiquities*, II. xvi. xvii. ix. i. 7.

Hence the expression of S. OPTATUS, iii. 3. *Non Republica in Ecclesiâ, sed Ecclesia in Republicâ*, i. e. in *Imperio Romano*.

PANCIROLI, *Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii*, in *Grævii Thesaur. Antiq.* vii. p. 1308.

Bp. BEVERIDGE, *Codex Canonum*, v. 13, de *Metropolitans*, in *Patres Apostolici*, ed. Cotelieri, ii. 2, p. 87.

JOHNSON'S *Code of the Universal Church* (in vol. ii. of

Clergyman's Vade Mecum, 1709).—CANONES Apostol. et CHAP. XII.
 Concil. Sæculorum IV. V. VI. VII. Bruns. Berolin. 1839.

Q. You mean, that the system of *civil* government invited the application of a similar system of *ecclesiastical* polity?

A. Yes: and this aptitude was recognized by General Councils of the Church, and made by them the groundwork¹ of their own legislation; so that, when the empire became Christian, (i. e. early in the fourth century,) the lines of the ecclesiastical map coincided very nearly with those of the civil chart of the whole empire.

¹ Concil. Antioch. A.D. 341, can. 9, p. 80, ed. Bruns. τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φρονίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας—ἕκαστον ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας—περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου.

Archbp. De MARCA, de Concordiâ, vi. cap. 1. BARROW, On the Pope's Supremacy, p. 165. DUPIN, De Ant. Eccles. Discipl. 1. § 8.

Q. As, then, at that time the Eastern Empire consisted, *politically*, of seven districts called *Dioceses* (διοικήσεις), and seven also composed the Western, there were, I suppose, seven *ecclesiastical* districts coinciding with them in the East and seven in the West also?

A. Yes; and these *ecclesiastical* districts were also termed *Dioceses*.

Q. And as in these fourteen dioceses there were altogether about one hundred and eighteen minor territorial divisions called *Provinces* (ἐπ-

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αρχίαι), so there were as many sub-divisions in the Church?

A. Yes; and these *ecclesiastical* sub-divisions were also termed *Provinces*.

Q. And as in each province there were several cities, with their respective *precincts* (παρoικίαι) attached to them, so there were several Chief Churches, each having its own territorial range allotted to it?

A. There were; and these too were called παρoικίαι¹, *Paræciæ*, which word in English has now descended to describe a *Parish*, from signifying what we now term a *Diocese*; as διοίκησις has also descended to designate a *Diocese*, from signifying, as it once did, a combination of several *Dioceses*.

¹ Bp. BILSON, Appendix to Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, p. 540. Παρoικία *Paræcia* non civitatē solum in quā Episcopus sedem habuerat, sed totam regionem finitimam civitati assignatam sive subjectam significat. CABASSUTIUS, Concil. cap. xxviii. and cap. xxvii. p. 114. Iste Canon (Antioch. 9) tres commemorat Ecclesiasticæ Præfecturæ gradus.

1. ἐπαρχίαν, *Provinciam* sub Metropolitano Præsule;

2. παρoικίαν, *Paræciam*, sub comprovinciali sive suffraganeo Episcopo;

3. χώραν, *locum* seu minorem locum, unde χωρεπίσκοποι dicti, locorum particularium intra Paræciam præfecti;

Sed omnes gradus illos antecellebat *Diæcesis*, habens plures *Provincias*, qualis erat singulorum *Patriarcharum* ditio.

Nunc vero *Diæcesis* usurpari pro Paræciâ solet, ipsa verò *Paræcia* pro infimâ Præfecturâ pagorum, quarum præfectus vulgo *Parochus* audit, meliùs tamen juxta Græcorum Canonum expressionem *Paræcus* diceretur.

Q. And now, to ascend in an inverted order, what, first, were the rulers of these Chief Churches called?

A. *Bishops.*

Q. Could there be more than *one* Bishop in a CHAP. XII.
city?

A. No¹; there could not: this was specially prohibited by the laws of the Church, and censured by them as schismatical; and a *second* Bishop in a city is regarded by them as *no* Bishop².

¹ Concil. Nicæn. c. 8. *ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾤσι.* S. HIERON. ad Ep. Philipp. i. Non in *unâ* urbe *plures Episcopi* esse potuissent. S. CORNEL. ap. Euseb. vi. 43. *εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

² S. Cyprian. ad Antonian. ep. 52. Quisquis post *unum* (Episcopum) factus est, non jam *secundus* ille sed *nullus* est.

S. CYPRIAN. ad Step. ep. 67. *Foris* esse cœpit qui, Episcopo Cornelio ordinato, *profanum altare* erigere, adulteram cathedram collocare, et sacrilega sacrificia offerre tentaverit.

S. CHRYSOST. Theodoret. et Œcumen. in Epist. ad Phil. i. BINGHAM, II. xiii. l. xvii. v. 3

Q. What were the Episcopal Rulers of the *Provinces* styled?

A. *Metropolitans*, (Ecclesiastical Governors of the mother city, *μητρόπολις*;) and sometimes Archbishops, though this latter title was more generally applied to a still more dignified ecclesiastical office; and all were called *Apostolici*.

Q. And what were those of the *Dioceses* called?

A. *Patriarchs*¹, *Exarchs*, or *Archbishops*².

¹ Conc. Chalcedon. act. ii. vol. iv. p. 338. ed. Labbe. *ὁσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐκάστης.*—Act. iii. p. 395. *ἀρχιεπισκόποι καὶ πατριάρχῃ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Δέοντι.*

² Concil. Chalcedon. can. 30. Justin. Novell. ii. Concerning their limits, see Conc. Const. c. 2. Conc. Ephes. i. Act. 7.

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Q. So that there were, on the whole, fourteen *Patriarchs* in the Roman Empire?

A. Yes¹.

¹ BINGHAM, II. xvii. 20.

CABASSUTIUS, Notit. Concil. xxvii. xxviii.

The importance of this subject will justify the insertion of the following large extract from Dr. RICHARD CRAKANTHORPE'S *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 1625, p. 144. Ecclesiam, in suâ Diœcesium et Provinciarum divisione ac regimine, civilem formam et Regimen sequutam esse, neminem qui antiquitatis paulò studiosior est, latere arbitror. Docet hoc præter alia Concilium Chalcedonense. Hinc factum, ut sicut Imperium Romanum in duas generales partes, seu duos *orbes* (sic vocari solebant) divideretur, ita Ecclesiam generaliter primo, in *Orientalem* et *Occidentalem* partirentur.

Ut in Oriente septem erant Imperii *Diœceses*, in Occidente, præter Romanæ urbis *Præfecturam*, sex: itidem et *quatuordecim diœceses* antiquitus habuit Ecclesia. Septem orientis tam Imperii quam Ecclesiæ *Diœceses* hæ erant, 1. *Ægyptus*, cujus ut et Libyæ, Thebaidis, ac Pentapolis Provinciæ, Alexandrino suberant Patriarchæ. 2. *Oriens*, cujus provinciæ *Antiocheno* Patriarchæ subjectæ. 3. *Asiana*, cujus olim Provinciæ *Ephesino* Primati, post *Constantinopolitano* Patriarchæ subditæ. 4. *Pontica*, cujus metropolis *Cæsarea*. 5. *Thracia*, cujus Provinciæ Græcia, Achaia, aliæque *Thessalonicensi* olim Episcopo, ut primati *Diœceseos*, post *Constantinopolitano* Patriarchæ subjectæ fuerunt. 6. *Macedonia*, et 7. *Dacia*.

Septem quoque in Occidente. Prima omnium erat Romana, cujus propria, et, ut Hincmarus vocat, *specialis Diœcesis*, erant illæ Provinciæ quæ *suburbicariæ* dictæ sunt, quia *Vicario Imperatoris* in civilibus, in Ecclesiasticis *Romano Patriarchæ* suberant; quæque ab *Italicæ* Provinciis omnino seceruntur.

Quis vel certius cognoscere potuit, vel rectius explicare Romani pontificis antiquos limites, quam Ruffinus, Presbyter ipse *Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, in eâ *enutritus*, in his pervestigandis *diligenter versatus*? Is de industriâ quasi *explicans Nicænum Canonem*, Romano Episcopo non alias quam *suburbicarias*

attribuit Provincias, aut Ecclesias. Hæ in universum decem CHAP. XII.
 erant Provinciæ. Insulæ tres, Sicilia, Corsica, et Sardinia,
 et septem aliæ in eo Italiæ tractu, qui ad Orientem vergit et
 Austrum, ad Occidentem vero non ultra Magram fluvium,
 qui Hetruriæ limes, et *Asium* fluvium (Esis Plinio et Blondo
 vocatur) non longe ab Ancona protendebantur. Cujus illud
 certum omnino indicium, quod Piceni (in quo Ancona sita)
 pars una *Picenum suburbicarium* dictum sit, altera, *Annonarium*,
 quia in Picenâ regione *suburbicarium provinciarum* terminus.
 Si igitur Italia juxta Antonini Itinerarium in sedecim, aut
 rectius juxta *Notitiam* in *septemdecim*, *Provincias* dividatur,
 præter tres illas Insulas, 4. Campania, 5. Tuscia, 6. Picenum
 suburbicarium, 7. Apulia cum Calabriâ, 8. Bruttium, 9. Sam-
 nium, et 10. Valeria, quia *suburbicariæ regiones, et Provinciæ*
 erant, *Romano* subjectæ Patriarchæ, illiusque *Diæcesis* propria
 ac peculiaris fuerunt.

Secunda, *Italica Diæcesis* dicta est, quæ septem alias Italiæ
 complectebatur Provincias. 1. Venetias nempe, cum Istriâ,
 2. Æmiliam, 3. Liguriam, 4. Flaminiam cum Piceno Anno-
 nario, 5. Alpes Cottias, 6. Rhætiam primam, 7. et Rhæ-
 tiam secundam; quæ omnes Provinciæ, ut in civilibus
 sub ab Imperatore illis dato vicario, ita in Ecclesiasticis,
Mediolanensi Primati, ut suo Metropolitano, parebant.
 Quare ab Athanasio *Mediolanum Italiæ Metropolis, sicut*
Romanæ ditionis Metropolis Roma, nominatur. Ita in *duas*
Diæceses Italia olim divisa, una *Italica* appellationem reti-
 nuit, altera ab urbe et *Suburbicariis Provinciis* nomen accepit :
 illa *Romano*, hæc *Mediolanensi* Episcopo subjecta. Tertia,
 Africana diæcesis erat, in quâ Episcopi olim plusquam ducenti,
 Metropolitani etiam complures; qui omnes et ipsorum Pro-
 vinciciæ, Carthaginiensi Episcopo ut *Primati totius diæcesis*
 suberant. Quarta *Illyrium*, quæ ut suas Provincias, ita
 suum, qui eis præerat, *Primates* olim habuit, sed post, tota
 ipsa Diæcesis Constantinopolitano subjecta erat Patriarchæ.
 Quinta est *Gallia*, cujus olim *Metropolis* fuit Augusta Tre-
 verorum, et totius Diæcesis Primas Treverensis Episcopus;
 sed ea dignitas ad *Arelatensem* postea translata. Sexta, *His-*
paniarum, cujus ut Regia, ita Metropolis quoque *Hispalis*
 fuisse videtur: postea unâ cum Regiâ, primatus quoque
 dignitas *Toletano* concessit Episcopo. Septima et *Brittanni-*

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arum, cujus ut olim Regia, ita et Metropolis *Eboracum* fuisse conicitur : sed istæ à multis retrò sæculis, *Cantuariensi* Episcopo ut Primati, aut (ut eum *Malmsburiensis*, et *Glossa Juris* vocant) *Patriarchæ* Diœcesis tota subjecta.

Et quidem antiquitùs hæc Diœcesium in Ecclesiâ, juxta Imperii formam facta divisio ; sed ea et mutata sæpiùs à Conciliis, et ab Imperatoribus.

Nec in divisione solùm *Diœcesium* Imperium sequuta est Ecclesia, sed et in ipsius regimine, mirum omninò est, quàm illius formam imitata sit. Nam sicut in *quatuordecim* illis *Diœcesibus* erant in universum *Provinciæ centum et octodecim* ; ita et totidem Provincias numerabat Ecclesia. Ut in singulis Provinciis erant complures urbes, quibus singulis inferioris ordinis Judices civiles, quos *Defensores civitatum* ferè vocabant, præponebantur ; ita in singulis civitatibus *Episcopos* suos, qui eas cum parœciâ totâ circumjacente gubernabant, præficiebat Ecclesia. Ut *Provinciæ* singulæ suos habebant *Proconsules Consulares*, aut *Provinciarum præsides*, qui in Metropoli *Provinciæ* residentes, aliis in eâ *Provincia* autoritate præibant : itidem habuit et Ecclesia *Episcopos suos Metropolitanos*, seu *Archiepiscopos*, quibus ut Præsidi *Provinciæ*, cæteri illius *Provinciæ* Episcopi subjecti erant. Ut singulæ illæ *quatuordecim Diœceses* *Vicarios Imperatoris Augustales*, *Præfectos*, *Prætorio*, aut alio nomine vocatos, in primariâ urbe, seu *Metropoli totius Diœcesis*, velut generales illius Rectores habuerint, quorum tanta autoritas, ut nulla post Imperatorem major : itidem et Ecclesia in singulis suis *quatuordecim Diœcesibus*, *Primarios* quosdam et præ omnibus eminentes suos habuit Episcopos, qui κατ' ἐξοχὴν *Patriarchæ*, vel *Primates Patriarchales* dicebantur, qui in primariâ sede et totius *Diœcesis Metropolitani* constituti, non Episcopis solùm qui *Paræcias*, sed et *Metropolitanis* qui *Provincias* regebant, præponebantur, quorum singulorum tanta est in Ecclesiâ autoritas, ut non sit in Episcopo ullo post Imperatorem *Jesum Christum* ulla major.

Ut in toto Imperio antiquitùs tres inter omnes eminebant civitates, “Prima urbes inter, divûm domus, aurea *Roma* :” secunda, *Alexandria*, quæ a Dione Chrysostomo per excellentiam *Civitas*, et *secunda omnium quæ sub sole sunt*, vocatur. Tertia, *Antiochia*, quæ teste Hegesippo *tertium omnium in orbe*

civitatum locum obtinet: itidem in Ecclesiâ, tres illarum CHAP. XII.
urbium Episcopi præ aliis omnibus insignes erant et spectabiles: ideoque per excellentiam *Patriarchæ* dicti: cum reliqui *undecim Diæcesium* Episcopi, licèt *Patriarchali omni potestate* illis pares, non *Patriarchæ*, sed *Primates* dicerentur: *Primates*, inquam, *Patriarchales*, non solum *Metropolitani*: et *Primates Diæcesium* suarum Patriarchalium, non *unius Provinciæ Primates*.

Hæc antiquitas et divisio et regimen in Ecclesiis instituta. Nec certè vel ad *pacem* in Ecclesiâ conservandam, vel ad jurisdictionem cuique Episcopo suam sartam tectam tuendam, aut facilior aut commodior ulla *Paræciarum, Provinciarum*, et *Diæcesium* distributio fieri potuit aut inveniri.

Q. We have before seen what are the functions of a Bishop; what next is the office of a *Metropolitan*?

A. To consecrate or confirm his suffragan Bishops¹, and no one could be ordained a Bishop in his province without his consent and approbation, and any such ordination was null and void; to receive appeals, and decide controversies among the Bishops of his province, either by himself, or by commission, or by reference to a Provincial Synod²; to convoke and to preside in Provincial Synods³, (generally summoned twice a year,) which all his Suffragans were bound to attend; to give to his Suffragans *literæ formatæ* when going into foreign parts⁴, and to publish imperial decrees on ecclesiastical matters.

¹ Concil. Nic. can. 4. τὸ κῦρος (confirmation of Bishop) διδόσθω καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.—Can. 6. χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.—Conc. Sardic. c. 6.—Conc. Ephes. Decret. de Episc. Cypr.—Conc. Chalc. Act. 16.

Antioch. 9. Laodic. 12. Chalced. 19. 25. Carth. 11, 12. Arelat. 5, 6.

² Cod. Justin. i. v. 29. Conc. Const. 6. 35. Conc. Nic. 5. Chalced. 19. Antioch. 9. 20. 38. Arelat. 19.

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³ Conc. Nic. c. 5. Chalced. 19.⁴ Conc. Carth. iii. 28.

Q. What is the office of a *Patriarch*?

A. To ordain or confirm the Metropolitans of his Diocesis or Patriarchate¹; to convoke them to Synods, which they were obliged to attend²; to receive appeals from the Metropolitans³ and from the Synods⁴ in his jurisdiction; to communicate imperial decrees⁵ to his Metropolitans.

¹ Justin. Novell. 7. 131. c. 3. ² Theodoret, Epist. 81.³ Conc. Chalc. c. 9. c. 17. Justin. Novell. 123. 137.⁴ Concil. Chalced. can. 9. ⁵ Justinian, Epilog. Novell. 6.

Q. Were any of the Cities, in which the fourteen Patriarchs resided, superior in civil dignity to the rest?

See above,
p. 112.

A. Yes, three: *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*.

Q. And were the Patriarchs of these superior in ecclesiastical rank to the other eleven?

A. They were *not higher in order*, (for all Patriarchs possess co-ordinate and independent authority,) but they had *precedence* of the others in *place*.

Q. And was this precedence *liable to change*?

A. Yes: it was¹. If a city rose or declined in civil power and importance, then, after mature consideration of the circumstances of the case, its ecclesiastical precedence was modified. Thus, for instance, the Bishop of *Constantinople*, from not being a Patriarch at all, was raised, A.D. 381, under Theodosius the Great, to the dignity of the *second* among the fourteen Patriarchs².

¹ By Concil. Constantinop. A.D. 381, can. 3, [and Concilium Chalcedon. A.D. 451, can. 28,] the second place is assigned to Constantinople, διὰ τὸ εἶναι νῆαν Ῥώμην; and in Concil. Chalcedon. A.D. 451, can. 28, Constantinople is

declared to be on a *parity* with Rome. (τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ.) See Concil. Trull. or Quini-Sext. can 36. On the same principle as the first place had been given to Rome, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην. Cp. act. 16. Conc. Chalced. Constantinople is called the Head of all the Churches (Constantinopolitana Ecclesia omnium aliarum est caput) by Justinian, Cod. i. Tit. 3. c. 24. CHAP. XII.

Compare Concil. Trullan. A. D. 692. can. 38. Concil. Chalcedon. can. 17. εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλιν ἢ αὐθις καινισθεῖη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἢ τάξις ἀκολουθεῖτω.

BINGHAM, Antiq. IX. i. 7.

² Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 130. 177.

Q. By what process were these variations effected?

A. It was unlawful¹ for a Bishop to take any steps to obtain the elevation of his own see; but it was competent to a General Council, convoked by the Emperor, to deliberate, and decide, with the imperial sanction, on questions of this nature.

¹ Concil. Chalced. 12. BINGHAM, XVII. v. 37.

Q. It appears, then, that while the *Episcopal Office* is of *Divine institution*, and cannot, in its spiritual nature and ministrations, be affected by any human laws, the actual *exercise of authority* of Bishops, as Diocesans, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs, may depend, for its distribution and apportionment, upon secular circumstances, and be subject to modifications from civil authority after ecclesiastical consultation?

A. Certainly. The history of the Church affords many proofs and examples¹ of this. By the order of God's Providence in the world, kingdoms are augmented and diminished, they are

Dan. ii. 21.
v. 30, 31.

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transferred from one sceptre to another, as He wills in His supreme wisdom and power; and the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction have been usually modelled accordingly².

¹ Concil. Constant. A.D. 381, can. 2. Concil. Ephes. A.D. 431. tom. iii. p. 801, Labbe. Chalcedon, A.D. 451, can. 12. Justin Novell. 11. case of Justiniana Prima.

² BARROW, Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, pp. 171, 172, London, 1683, thus states the law and practice of the Church on this subject. *Patriarchs are an human institution. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, so they may be dissolved by the same. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of Princes; and by the same they may be dejected, if great reason do appear. No ecclesiastical power can interpose in the management of any affairs within the territory of any Prince without his concession. By the laws of God, and according to ancient practice, Princes may model the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Wherefore, each Prince (having supreme power in his own dominion, and equal to what the Emperor had in his) may exclude any foreign Prelate from jurisdiction in his territories. It is expedient for peace and public good that he should do thus. Such Prelate, according to the rules of Christianity, ought to be content with his doing so. Any Prelate exercising power in the dominion of any Prince, is eatenus his subject; as the Popes and all Bishops were to the Roman emperors.*

Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 177-8. ii. p. 185, 186, ed. Oxf.

In A.D. 1721 the Church of Russia, and in A.D. 1833 the Church of Greece, was detached from the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Q. How does the practice or adoption of such ecclesiastical modification appear to be consequent on God's government of the world in civil affairs?

A. Kings and Emperors would not be what God has made them, namely¹, His deputies and Vicegerents upon earth, and He would not be "the *only* Ruler of Princes," if any of their sub-

Rom. xiii.
1—5.
Tit. iii. 1.
1 Pet. ii.
13—17.

jects, and,—in the case supposed,—if the Eccle-
 siastical Persons of their Realm,—were under
foreign allegiance, so that they not only acknow-
 ledged an *external* authority as the source of their
 jurisdiction, but could be summoned by it out of
 their own country, be brought to trial, and be
 deprived of their office by a power over which
 their lawful sovereign had no control.

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¹ TERTULLIAN, ad Scap. 2. Colimus Imperatorem, ut
 hominem a Deo secundum et solo Deo minorem.

OPTATUS, iii. 3. Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus
 Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem.

S. CHRYSOSTOM, ad Rom. xiii. 1. Every one is bound to
 obey the higher powers; *κάν τις ἀπόστολος ἢ, κὴν εὐ-
 αγγελιστῆς, κὴν προφήτης—ταῦτα διατάσσεται ἱερεῦσι,
 οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς (laicis) μόνον.*

S. BERNARD, de Officio Episcoporum, ed. Paris, 1839.
 tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 1123. Intelligitis quæ dico: cui hono-
 rem, honorem. *Omnis anima*, inquit, *potestatibus sublimioribus
 subdita sit. Si omnis*, et vestra. Quis vos excipit ab univer-
 sitate? Si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere. Nolite
 illorum acquiescere consiliis, qui cum sint Christiani, Christi
 tamen vel sequi facta, vel obsequi dictis opprobrio ducunt.
 Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent; “*Servate vestræ sedis
 honorem. Decebat quidem ex vobis, vobis commissam Ec-
 clesiam crescere: nunc vero saltem in illâ quâ suscepistis
 maneat dignitate. Et vos enim vestro prædecessore impo-
 tentiores? Si non crescit per vos, non decreseat per vos.*”
Hæc isti: Christus aliter et jussit, et gessit. Reddite, ait,
quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari; et quæ sunt Dei, Deo. Quod ore
 locutus est, mox opere implere curavit. Conditor Cæsaris
 Cæsari non cunctatus est reddere censum: exemplum enim
 dedit vobis, ut et vos ita faciatis.

See below, pt. iii. chap. v.

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CHAPTER XIII.

PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH.

Discipline.—Power of the Keys.

Q. WE have spoken of the Word of God, and of the ministration of the Word and Sacraments; what other privilege must we next notice as possessed by the Church?

A. That of *Discipline*¹.

¹ HOMILIES, Homily for Whitsunday, Part II. ed. Oxon. 1822, p. 428. The true Church hath always three notes or marks whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and *the right use of Ecclesiastical discipline*. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God, and also to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith. See above, p. 14.

Q. What is this power of exercising Church Discipline usually called?

A. It is usually termed by divines *the Power of the Keys*¹, of which it is one main and primary part.

¹ Abp. CRANMER's Catechism, pp. 193—204, ed. Oxf. 1829.

Q. Whence did it receive this name?

A. From the words of Christ to St. Peter, and in him to all Presbyters: "I will give to thee the *Keys* of the kingdom of heaven."

Matt. xvi.
19.

Q. You say, "in St. Peter to *all* Presbyters¹;" how does this appear?

Matt. xviii.
17, 18.
John xx. 23.

A. From the fact, that the power which our Lord here gave to St. Peter, He gave to *all the Apostles*², and to the *Church*³ generally; and this is

further apparent from the universal language and practice of the Church, according to which *all Presbyters* have ever *used* this power.

¹ ORDERING OF PRIESTS, in the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland. Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments; in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

² See below, S. CHRYSOST., S. AUG., S. AMBROSE, at the close of this chapter, and the beginning of the next, and Pt. ii. last chapter.

S. AUG. in Joannis Evang. Tract. cxviii. Sicut in Apostolis cum esset etiam ipse numerus duodenarius, id est, quadripartitus in ternos, et omnes essent interrogati, solus Petrus respondit, *Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi*: et ei dicitur, *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum*, tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem: cum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc *cum omnibus* tanquam personam gerens ipsius unitatis acceperit: ideo unus pro omnibus, quia unitas est in omnibus.

S. CYPRIAN, de Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 106. Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, *Ego tibi dico*, inquit, *quia tu es Petrus*, &c. Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit: *Pasce oves meas*. Super unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus *parem* potestatem tribuat et dicat: *Sicut misit me Pater, et Ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum*. Si cui remiseritis peccata, remittantur illi; si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur: tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et ceteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, *pari consortio* præditi et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur.

S. FIRMILIAN, Epist. apud Cyprian. p. 225. Potestas peccatorum remittendorum *Apostolis* data est, et *Episcopis* qui eis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt. CASAUBON, Exc. Baron.

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p. 377. Ecclesia semper credidit ex verbis Domini ad Petrum cuivis presbytero legitime ordinato hoc jus competere.

³ S. AUG. in Joannis Evang. Tract. cxxiv. 5. Quando ei dictum est, *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, universam* significabat *Ecclesiam*, quæ in hoc sæculo diversis tentationibus velut imbribus, fluminibus, tempestatibus quatitur, et non cadit, quoniam fundata est super petram, unde Petrus nomen accepit. Non enim a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra; sicut non Christus a christiano, sed christianus a Christo vocatur. Ideo quippe ait Dominus, *Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*, quia dixerat Petrus, *Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi*. Super hanc ergo, inquit, petram quam confessus es, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Petra enim erat Christus: super quod fundamentum etiam ipse ædificatus est Petrus. Fundamentum quippe aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jesus. *Ecclesia* ergo quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cælorum accepit in Petro, id est, potestatem ligandi solvendique peccata.

Q. In what respects are keys an emblem of ecclesiastical authority?

A. Keys are wont to be given to stewards, treasurers, warders, and other officers, domestic and civil, as badges of trust and power¹. The proper use of keys is to open, to admit, to shut in or shut out, and again to re-admit: and so Christ has given to His Ministers the power, in subordination to Himself, of admitting to the Kingdom of Heaven, of excluding from it, and of re-admitting to it; and this is what is meant, when it is said that they have from Christ *the power of the Keys*².

Isa. xxii. 22.
Rev. i. 18.
iii. 7. xx. 1.
Job xii. 24.

¹ Thence Christ's Ministers are called *ταμίαι, οἰκονόμοι*. See 1 Cor. iv. 1. 2 Cor. vi. 4. Col. i. 25. Tit. i. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10.

² HOOKER, VI. iv. 1. They that have the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven are hereby signified to be stewards of

the house of God, under whom they guide, command, and judge His family. The souls of men are God's treasure, committed to the trust and fidelity of such as must render a strict account for the very least which is under their custody.

BARROW, *de Potestate Clavium*, iv. p. 50, ed. 1687. This *Latin* Treatise is fuller and more complete than the *English* one of the same author, entitled *On the Power of the Keys*.

Q. You speak of admitting to the *Kingdom of Heaven*; when so speaking, what do you mean by the *Kingdom of Heaven*?

A. I mean, first, the *Visible Church*, or the *Kingdom of Grace*; and, secondly, that to which it leads the faithful Christian¹,—namely, the *Invisible Church* or the *Kingdom of Glory*.

¹ See above, chaps. ii. and iii.

Q. How do Christ's Ministers *admit* persons into the kingdom of heaven in the former sense?

A. By the Ministry of the Word of God, that is, by Preaching; and by Baptism.

Q. How do they *exclude* from the kingdom of heaven?

A. By Church censures after solemn investigation, trial, and admonition, and specially by the judicial sentence of excommunication.

1 Cor. v.
3—5.
1 Tim. i. 20.
2 Tim. ii. 17.

Q. What are the intents and ends of Church censures?

A. With respect to Christ, the ends and aims of Church censures are, to maintain His honour; with respect to the Church, to preserve her holiness, purity, and unity; with respect to offenders, to warn them by a *pre-announcement* of the final judgment¹, to inspire them with godly sorrow, to the intent that "they may learn not to blas-

Levit. x. 10.
Ezek. xxii.
26. xliv. 23.
Deut. xxvii.
13.
Joel ii. 12.
2 Chron.
xxiii. 18.
1 Cor. v.
4—7.
2 Cor. vii.
9—12.

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1 Tim. i. 20.

pheme," and "that their spirits may be saved in the day of the Lord;" and with respect to all others, to deter them from similar offences. For, *Impunitas semper ad deteriora invitat*², and, *Minnatur innocentibus qui parcat nocentibus*³.

¹ TERTULLIAN, Apol. 38. *Summum futuri judicii præjudicium est si quis ita deliquerit ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegatur.*

S. CYPRIAN, de Habitu Virginum, p. 92. This treatise commences with a recital of the benefits of Church Discipline.

COMMUNION Office of the Church of England.

² 5 COKE, 109.

³ 4 COKE, 45.

Q. What, further, is the true character of Church censures?

2 Cor. ii. 4.
vii. 9.

A. They are acts of *charity* to the offender and to others; and the omission of them, when they ought to be exercised, is an act of *injury* and *cruelty*¹. Knowing God's wrath against sin, the Church *must* censure it. *Terreo, quia timeo*², is her motto, and *Si perdo, pereor*.

2 Cor. v. 11.
Heb. x. 31.

¹ WISDOM vi. 17. The very true beginning of Wisdom is the desire of Discipline, and the care of Discipline is Love, and Love is the keeping of her laws.

ECCLUS. xxiii. 1—3. O Lord, . . . who will set scourges over my thoughts, and the Discipline of wisdom over mine heart? that they spare me not for mine ignorances, and it pass not by my sins; lest mine ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction, and I fall before mine adversaries, and mine enemy rejoice over me, whose hope is far from Thy mercy.

EPISTOLA Cleri Rom. ap. S. Cyprian. ep. 31. *Ubi poterit medicina indulgentiæ proficere si etiam ipse medicus, interceptâ pœnitentiâ, indulget periculis? si tantummodo operit vulnus! Hoc est non curare, sed occidere.*

S. CHRYSOSTOM, ii. 112, ed. Savil. ὁ μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν τιθεῖς, μονονουχὶ ὀπλίζει τῇ ἀδείᾳ.

S. AUG. Serm. xiii. *Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est; qui negat, crudelis est.*

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² S. AUG. in Ps. lxi. iv. 895, et ad Litt. Petilian. iii. 4. Ecclesiastica Disciplina, medicinalis vindicta, terribilis lenitas, charitatis severitas.

Q. Is it, then, to be considered a matter of choice with the Ministers of Christ whether they will exercise such discipline or no?

A. No. Christ neither said nor did any thing in vain. When He said¹, "If he will not *hear* the Church," He ordered the Church to *speak*; and when He gave the Apostles power for the government of His Church, He *commanded* them to *exercise* it; and, accordingly, St. Titus and St. Timothy are commanded by St. Paul to rebuke with all authority; and the Bishops² of Pergamus and Thyatira are severely reprov'd by St. John for suffering false doctrines and corrupt practices in their Churches. *Non regit*, says St. Augustine, *qui non corrigit*³.

Matt. xviii.
17.

Mark vi.

7—13.

Luke ix.

1—6.

xxiv. 47.

1 Tim. v. 20.

2 Tim. iv. 2.

Titus ii. 15.

Rev. ii. 14,
15, 20.

¹ S. CHRYSOSTOM, ii. p. 160, ed. Savil. καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπέστησε (τοὺς ἀποστόλους) ἐπιτιμῶντας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐπιτιμῶντας ἀλλὰ καὶ κολάζοντας, τὸν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τούτων ἀκούσαντα ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἐθνικὸν εἶναι καὶ τελώνην· πῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰς κλεῖς ἔδωκεν; εἰ γὰρ μὴ μέλλουσι κρίνειν, ἀπάντων ἔσονται ἄκυροι, καὶ μάτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ τοῦ λύειν εἰλήφασιν, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ, εἰ τοῦτο κρατήσκειν, ἅπαντα οἰχήσεται καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις—καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πάντα γενήσεται.

² S. HIERON. in Mich. c. v. Legamus Apocalypsin Joannis Apostoli, in qua laudantur accusanturque Angeli Ecclesiarum pro virtutibus vitiisque eorum quibus præesse dicuntur.

It is observable, that in the original Greek of the Revelation of St. John (ii. 9, 10. iii. 2. 15—18), the epithets assigned to the several Churches agree in gender with the

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word *Angel*, and *not* with the word *Church*, so that the Holy Spirit seems emphatically to identify each Church with its respective President, and to lay on *him* the responsibility of its failings and corruptions.

³ S. AUG. in Ps. xlv. iv. p. 552. Tractat. in Joann. xlv. Qui sua quærit, non quæ Jesu Christi, peccantem non libere audet arguere. Ecce nescio quis peccavit; graviter peccavit; increpandus est, excommunicandus est. Sed excommunicatus, inimicus erit. Jam ille qui sua quærit, non quæ Jesu Christi, ne inimicitiarum humanarum incurrat molestiam tacet, non corripit. Ecce lupus ovi guttur apprehendit; tu taces, non increpas! O mercenarie, lupum venientem vidisti, et fugisti! Fugisti, quia tacuisti; tacuisti, quia timuisti. Fuga animi timor est.

Archbp. CRANMER'S Catechism, ed. Oxon. 1829, p. 201. And this also is to be reprov'd, that some men, whiche continue in manyfest and open synne, and go not about to amend their lyfes, yet they wil be counted Christen men, and inter-poyse to receaue the same sacramentes that other do, to come to the Church, to worship God, and to pray with other. Suche muste be warned of their fautes, and yf they refuse to heare and amende, then they ought to be excommunicate and put out of the Christen congregation, vntil they repente and amende their lyfes; lest by suche manifest sinne and euil examples, other men might be provoked to do the lyke, and so at length many might be infected, and the Christen relygyon despised and euil spoken of, as though it were the worst relygyon, forasmuche as Christian men shoulde then leade a shameful and ungodly lyfe.

CHAPTER XIV.

PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH.

Absolution.

Q. You spoke of re-admission to the *Visible Church*, or *Kingdom of Grace*; and, secondly, by its means, to the *Invisible Church* or *Kingdom of Glory*; how do the Ministers of Christ *re-admit* offenders into the Church or Kingdom of Heaven, both Visible and Invisible?

A. By *disposing* them to repentance by application of the salutary medicine of the promises to penitence, and threats against sin, revealed in the Word of God, and thus producing compunction and contrition in them; then by *declaring*, as God's heralds, His readiness to pardon all who truly *repent* and *believe* in Him; then, by *pronouncing* their pardon and restoring them, on their repentance and faith, and confession of sins, through the ministry of reconciliation, which has been appointed and entrusted to them as Ministers in the ¹ Church of God.

2 Cor. v. 19.
Gal. vi. 1.

¹ S. AUG. Serm. ccxiv. *Ecclesia Dei vivi claves accepit regni cœlorum, ut in illâ per sanguinem Christi, operante Spiritu Sancto, fiat remissio peccatorum. In hac Ecclesiâ reviviscit anima quæ mortua fuerat peccatis, ut convivificetur Christo, cujus gratiâ sumus salvi facti.*

F. MASON, de Ministerio, v. 10. Minister Evangelicus dupliciter peccata remittit, *dispositivè* et *declarativè*: *dispositivè*, quia homines ad remissionem peccatorum consequendam *disponit* perducendo ad fidem et pœnitentiam; *declarativè*, quia *jam pœnitentibus* et *credentibus* peccatorum remissionem tanquam divinus præco declarat. Ita teneras conscientias cum peccatorum mole et desperatione luctantes per promissiones

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Q. By what other figure beside that of *opening* and *shutting* by the Keys does Christ describe the exercise of Church authority?

Matt. xviii.
18.
John xx. 23.

A. By that of *binding* and *loosing*. "Whosoever sins ye remit," says He to His Apostles, "they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

Q. Have *men* then the power of absolving their fellow-men from sin committed against God?

Mark ii. 7.
Luke v. 21.
viii. 47.
Rev. iii. 7.

A. No; not originally and of themselves, but only *derivatively* and *ministerially*: for "Who can forgive sins but God alone¹?" They no more *give* pardon to the sinner, than the Physician gives health to the sick, or the Judge gives release to the accused: but they *apply* the *means* appointed and given by *God* for its attainment.

¹ S. CYPRIAN, de Lapsis, p. 129. Nemo se fallat, nemo se decipiat. Solus Dominus misereri potest. Veniam peccatis, quæ in ipsum commissæ sunt, solus potest ille largiri, qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis nostris.

S. AMBROSE in S. Luc. v. 19. Quis potest peccata dimittere nisi solus Deus, Qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit potestatem?

Q. Would it not then be more reverential to God to reserve the office of remitting sins to Him alone?

A. Obedience to God is true reverence. It would be grievous disrespect to Him, and great wrong to His heritage, to rescind and refuse His gifts. The Church shows her reverence to God,

by obeying Him, and by using them; i. e. by remitting and retaining sins¹.

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¹ S. AMBROSE, de Pœnitentiâ, lib. i. cap. 2. 6. Sed aiunt se Domino deferre reverentiam, Cui soli remittendorum criminum potestatem reservent. Immò nulli majorem injuriam faciunt, quam qui ejus volunt mandata rescindere, commissum munus refundere. Nam cum Ipse in Evangelio suo dixerit Dominus Jesus: *Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; et quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt*; quis est ergo qui magis honorat, utrum qui mandatis obtemperat, an qui resistit?

Ecclesia in utroque servat obedientiam, ut peccatum et alliget et relaxet.

Q. But if no one can forgive sins but God, how can men be said to bind or loose?

A. The Priest is like a civil¹ Judge, who does not sit on the judicial tribunal to *make* laws, but to *administer* them. He does not pronounce sentence of forgiveness, in his own name, or on his own authority, but in that of God², the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and upon the conditions of repentance and faith prescribed by Christ, and required and ascertained after careful investigation by the Priest in the exercise of his ministry. The penitent must resort to the Priest, and the Priest must examine, exhort, and make trial of his sincerity. Christ's power is here *αὐτοκρατορικὴ*, or *imperial*; the Priest's is *διακονικὴ*, or *ministerial*. It is CHRIST who raises the sinner from the death of sin³; but when He has raised him by His Spirit, His word, or His ministry, He further says to His Ministers, "Loose him, and let him go."

Acts x. 43.
xiii. 38. xx.
21.

Markxvi. 16.
Acts iii. 19.
2 Cor. v. 20.

John xi. 43,
44.

¹ F. MASON, de Ministerio, v. 10. Absolutio non est declaratoria tantum, est etiam judicatoria; Sacerdotem judicem

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esse fatetur Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ (non longè a principio); requiritur autem iudicium non discretionis modo sed autoritatis etiam et potestatis; siquidem personæ absolvendæ fidem suam et pœnitentiam palam profitentur, hîc est causæ cognitio; dein Minister iisdem peccatorum indulgentiam declarat et obsignat; hîc est sententiæ dictio.

² S. CHRYS. in S. Joann. p. 928, Savil. Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πάντα οἰκονομεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δανείζει γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχει χεῖρα.

S. AMBROSE, de Pœnitentiâ, cap. 2. *Munus* Spiritûs Sancti est *Officium* Sacerdotis; *jus* autem Spiritûs Sancti in solvendis ligandisque criminibus est. Cap. 8. Omnia dedit Christus discipulis suis; sed *nulla* in his *hominis* potestas est, ubi *divini muneris* gratia viget.

³ S. AUG. Serm. ccxcv. Quatriduano mortuo dicitur, Lazare, prodi foras. Excitat Dominus, si cor tangit. Per se excitat, per discipulos solvit.

Q. Are then *all* who are absolved by Christ's ministers pardoned by Christ? or are *all* they who are condemned by Christ's ministers condemned by Christ?

A. No; a *right* sentence is the only one which Christ has authorized, and the only one which
 Matt. vii. 6. He will ratify, by giving it validity, spiritually and internally¹. "*Clavis potestatis* nihil operatur sine clave *scientiæ*²." The key of *knowledge* or *discretion* is necessary to give effect to that of *power*. No one can be admitted through the door of Pardon, who has not passed through that of
 Rev. iii. 7. Penitence. Christ alone "openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth;" and He turns the key in the hand of His ministers *only* when it is moved *aright*.

¹ HOOKER, VI. IV. 2. Whether they remît or retain sins, whatsoever is done by way of *orderly* and *lawful* proceeding, the Lord Himself hath promised to ratify.

² PETRUS ASILUS, de Tyr. Pont. cap. v. p. 107, ex Wesselio.

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Q. If this be so, is not the sentence of the Priest superfluous?

A. No; for God, in this as in other cases, is pleased to work by *means*, and to use the agency of His creatures, especially of men, as *instruments* in conferring His benefits upon other men; and though *His power* is not tied to means, yet, when *He* has *appointed* certain means for dispensing His grace, *our salvation* is restricted to the due and reverent use of them. He remits the punishment of *original sin*¹ by means of the Sacrament of Baptism; and in the case of *actual sin*, He confers the grace of His own pardon by the *instrumentality*² of priestly Absolution³, ordinarily and where it may be had, and whenever justly pronounced and duly received; and thus He makes repentance available to the true penitent, through the declaration and pronouncement of pardon by the Minister of Christ, acting by His authority, at His command, and by His power. Absolution does not *give* repentance, but *makes it effectual*; as the *loosing* of Lazarus did not give him *life*, but the full and free use of it.

Wisd. xvi. 7.
John ix. 7.

See above,
p. 62, 63.
p. 74, 75.

Acts ii. 38.
xxii. 16.
Rom. vi.
2—7.

John xi. 43,
44.

¹ S. AMBROSE, de Pœnit. lib. i. cap. 8. Cur præsunitis aliquos a colluvione diaboli per vos mundari posse? Cur baptizatis, si per hominem peccata dimitti non licet? In Baptismo utique remissio peccatorum omnium est: quid interest, utrum per pœnitentiam, an per lavacrum hoc jus sibi datum sacerdotes vindicent? Unum in utroque mysterium est.

S. AUG. Tractat. in S. Joann. xii. iii. p. 1815. Regeneratio spiritualis una est, sicut generatio carnalis una est: sicut ad nativitatem carnalem valent muliebria viscera ad semel

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pariendum, sic ad nativitatem spiritualem valent viscera Ecclesiæ, ut semel quisque baptizetur.

Ibid. p. 1830. Quomodo non caruit populus Israel pressurâ Ægyptiorum, nisi cum venisset ad mare Rubrum, sic pressurâ peccatorum nemo caret nisi cum ad fontem Baptismi venerit. P. 2070. Propter hoc etiam *sugens parvulus* a matre piis manibus ad Ecclesiam fertur, ne sine Baptismo exeat et in peccato quo natus est moriatur.

OFFICE for Public BAPTISM of Infants in the Church of England and Ireland. We call upon Thee for *this infant*, that *he* coming to Thy Holy Baptism, may receive remission of *his* sins by spiritual regeneration. . . . It is certain that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.—OFFICE of Private BAPTISM. Seeing now that this Child is by Baptism regenerate and grafted into the Body of Christ's Church.—ORDER of CONFIRMATION. Almighty and everliving God, Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these Thy servants by Water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins.—See also HOMILIES, 2 B. III., and 2 B. IV. 1. Bp. PEARSON on the Creed, Art. IX. p. 368.

WATERLAND, Regeneration stated and explained, Works, vi. p. 356.

² F. MASON, de Ministerio, v. 12. Minister est *efficax* Dei *instrumentum* ad remissionem efficiendam, et præco ad promulgandam. . . . Ministri tanquam viva Dei *instrumenta* Deo cooperantia primo animas ad credendum et poenitendum perducunt, deinde iisdem peccatorum remissionem ex officio idque secundum Christi institutum annunciant. Quod munus quoties quâ decet reverentiâ præstatur, singularis benedictio a Deo expectari potest.

³ S. AMBROSE, de Cain et Abel, ii. 4. Remittuntur peccata per officium sacerdotis sacrumque ministerium.

S. HIERON. ad Esai. iii. Secunda post naufragium tabula Poenitentia est.—See FORM of ABSOLUTION in the Visitation of the Sick.

HOMILY on Common Prayer, p. 330. (ed. 1822.) Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sins.

Bp. JEWELL, Apol. ii. Sententiam quamcumque ministri ad hunc modum tulerunt, Deus ipse comprobat.

Abp. CRANMER on the Power of the Keyes, Catech. p. 202. God hath given the keyes of the kingdom of heaven, and authority to forgyve sin, to the ministers of the Church. And when the minister does so, then I ought stedfastly to believe that my sins are truly forgyven me.—Compare CRANMER's Works, iv. p. 288, ed. Jenkyns.

Bp. SPARROW, Rationale, p. 14, ed. 1704. If our confession be serious and hearty, this absolution is effectual, as if God did pronounce it from heaven : so says the Confession of Saxony, and Bohemia, and the Augsburgh Confession, (xi. xii. xiii.) and so says St. Chrysostom in his Fifth Homily on Esay, "Heaven waits and expects the Priest's sentence here on earth ; and what the servant rightly binds or looses on earth, that the Lord confirms in heaven." St. Augustine and St. Cyprian, and general Antiquity, say the same.

HOOKE, VI. vi. 8. Bp. MONTAGUE, Appello Cæsarem, 25. Protestants hold that Priests have power, not only to pronounce, but to give, remission of sins.

CHILLINGWORTH, p. 409. (Serm. vii.) Come to your spiritual physician, not only as to a learned man, experienced in the Scriptures, as one that can speak quieting words to you, but as to one who hath Authority delegated to him from God Himself, to absolve and acquit your sins.

Q. What are the effects produced by Absolution, as respects the relation of the person absolved to the *Visible Church*?

A. First, a *declarative* one ; for, even though the penitent sinner may indeed be pardoned by God without Absolution, yet he is not regarded so to be in *the eye of the Church* without the sacerdotal *declaration* of it ; just as the lepers among the Jews, when healed, were not regarded as clean, and restored as such to society, till they had been *pronounced* to be clean by the Priest.

Levit. xiii.
17—23.
xiv. 2.
Matt. viii. 4.
Luke xvii.
14.

Q. Is not some other *visible effect* produced by absolution?

A. Yes. When a person under Church cen-

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sures is, on his repentance, reconciled to the Church by absolution, he is restored to a participation in the Holy Communion, and in the other *means of grace* in the Church, which is the *Depository of Grace*¹ as well as the *House of Discipline*².

¹ See above, p. 32.

² S. AUGUSTIN, de Disciplinâ Christ. vi. p. 977. Dicente Scripturâ, Accipite disciplinam in domo disciplinæ, (where Ecclus. li. 31. 36, is called 'Scriptura,' though an Ecclesiastical book only; see above, p. 56.)—*Disciplinæ domus est Ecclesia Christi*.—S. AUG. de Moribus Eccl. i. 1146.

See the citation from Peter Lombard in HOOKER, VI. VI. 8. Albeit a man be already cleared before God, yet he is not in the *face of the Church* so taken, but by virtue of the priest's sentence, who likewise may be said to *bind* by imposing satisfaction, (and by censures constraining to amend their lives he doth *more* than *declare* and signify what God hath wrought. VI. VI. 5.) and to *loose* by admitting to the Holy Communion.

Q. These are *visible* effects; but what influence has absolution on a man's relation to the *Invisible Church*?

A. The *visible* effects lead to *invisible* results, which follow, as we have seen, from the *right use* of the *means of grace* in the Church; but, in addition to the grace conveyed by these means, the true penitent, for whose benefit absolution was mainly intended, will derive great spiritual comfort and assurance from it.

Q. In what respects?

A. First, in *obeying* God, by using the ordinance which God has appointed for his good. Next, he will receive aid and encouragement in his own supplications for pardon and grace, from

Luke vii. 47
—50.

Luke xxiv.
47.
2 Cor. v. 18
—20.

the further co-operation of the prayers of God's Minister, and of His Church¹, that his sins may be forgiven, and his fidelity confirmed; and he will feel his scruples removed², and his faith, hope, and love to God, increased by an *assurance* of pardon from God, delivered to him by His ambassador³, authorized and commanded to act in His Name. And thus he is openly and effectually re-admitted by Absolution into the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹ S. AMBROSE, De Pœnitentiâ, ii. c. 10. Fleat pro te Mater Ecclesiâ, et culpam tuam lachrymis lavet.—Amat Christus ut pro uno multi rogent.

TERTULLIAN, De Pœn. c. 9.

² HOOKER, VI. VI. 14. The last and sometimes hardest to be satisfied by repentance are our own minds; are we not bound, then, with all thankfulness to acknowledge His infinite goodness whom it hath pleased (VI. VI. 17) to ordain for men's spiritual comfort consecrated persons, who by sentence of power and authority given from above, may as it were out of His mouth ascertain timorous and doubtful minds, ease them of their scrupulosities, leave them settled in peace, and satisfied of God's mercy to them?

³ HOOKER, VI. VI. 5. Having first the promises of God for pardon generally unto all offenders penitent; and for our own unfeigned meaning the infallible testimony of a good conscience, then the sentence of God's appointed officer and vicegerent to approve the quality of what we have done, and as from his tribunal to assoil us of any crime, I see no cause but we may rest ourselves very well assured touching God's most merciful pardon and grace.

CHAPTER XV.

PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH.

Sacerdotal Intercession and Benediction.

Q. WHAT other benefits, besides those already considered, of doctrine, the sacraments, and the exercise of the keys, do we derive from God through the ministry of the Church?

A. Those of *sacerdotal Intercession* (ἐντευξις) and *Benediction* (εὐλογία).

Q. You speak of *sacerdotal Intercession*; what do you understand by that term?

A. I mean the act of the Minister praying for the people, and presenting their prayers to God¹.

¹ Abp. POTTER on Church Government, ch. v. To present the people's prayers to God, and to intercede with Him to bless them, has always been reckoned an essential part of the Sacerdotal Office.

Q. What authority have we for believing that the prayers of special persons, as of Christian Ministers, have any peculiar efficacy with God?

A. The authority of God's own Word, and the records therein contained of the *Patriarchal*, *Mosaic*, and *Christian Dispensations*¹.

¹ HOOKER, V. xxv. 3. As the *place* of public prayer is a circumstance in the outward form thereof which hath moment to help devotion, so the *Person much more* with whom the people of God do join themselves in action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authority of his *calling* is a furtherance, because if God have so far received him into favour as to impose upon him by the hands of men that office of *blessing*

the people in His Name, and making *intercession* to Him in theirs, which office he hath sanctified with His own most gracious promise (Numbers vi. 23), and ratified that promise by manifest actual performance thereof, when (2 Chron. xxx. 27) others before in like place have done the same; is not his very Ordination a seal, as it were, to us that the self-same Divine Love that hath chosen the Instrument to work with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereto He ordained it, in blessing His people, and accepting the prayers which His servant offereth up unto God for them?

Q. To speak, first, of the efficacy of *sacerdotal Intercession* in *Patriarchal* times, can you give examples of it from Holy Writ?

A. Yes. God says to Abimelech, that He would heal him, *when* Abraham had prayed for him, “for he is a *prophet*.” He says to Job’s friends, “My servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept¹.” Abraham and Job in the Patriarchal dispensation were not only Fathers but *Priests*, the *priesthood* in that dispensation being in the *first-born* of each family in hereditary succession².

Gen. xx. 7.
17.
Job xlii. 8.
i. 4, 5.

Gen. xxii.
Job i. 5.

¹ Bp. ANDREWES, v. 355. It is an opinion very erroneous, that we have no other use of the Apostles of Christ and their successors, but only for *preaching*; whereas, as it is a thing no less hard to *pray* well than to *preach* well, so the people reap as great benefit by the *Intercession* of their Pastors which they continually make to God, both privately and publicly, as they do by their preaching. For this cause the Priests are *called the Lord’s Remembrancers*, because they put God in mind of His people, desiring Him continually to help and bless them with things needful; for God hath a greater respect to the prayers of those who have a spiritual charge, than to those that are of the common sort. Thus the Lord would have Abimelech deal well with Abraham and deliver him his wife, ‘because he is a Prophet, and should pray for him that he may live.’ So to the friends of Job the Lord said, ‘My servant Job shall pray for you, and I will accept him.’ (Sermon on Luke xi. 1.)

Isa. lxii. 6,
[See Margin, and Lowth’s note.]

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² Bp. BILSON, on the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, p. 37, ed. 1842. God did consecrate the first-born of their family as holy to Himself to be Priests in His Church.

SCULTETUS in Job i. 4. *Sacrificabat* Job tanquam Primogenitus, et Pater familias ut ante Legem fieri solebat. And see Bp. Patrick and Mercer on Job xlii. 8. *Jobus sacerdos a Deo eligitur*. See also Gen. xiv. 18. xviii. 19. xx. 7. xxi. 33. xxvi. 25. xxxiii. 20. Psalm cv. 22. Heb. vii. 7. 2 Pet. ii. 5. 7. Jude 14.

Q. Have we further evidence of the efficacy of sacerdotal Intercession in the *Mosaic Dispensation* also?

Num. xvi.
48.
Joel ii. 17,
18.
1 Kings xiii.
6.

A. Yes; Aaron the Priest¹ stood between the dead and the living, (as Moses commanded him by God's order,) and the plague was stayed. The Lord says by the Prophet Joel, "Let the Priests, the Ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord, . . . and then will the Lord pity His people."

¹ Bp. ANDREWES, Sermons, v. 231. Prayer is good, and that Phinehas' Prayer. Phinehas was a Priest, the son of Eleazar, the nephew of Aaron. So as there is virtue, as in the prayer, so in the *person* that did pray, in Phinehas himself. . . . Every Priest being taken from among men, and ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer prayers; the prayers he offereth he offereth out of his *office*, and so, even in that respect there is, *cæteris paribus*, a more force and energy in them, as coming from him whose *calling* it is to offer them, than in those that come from another whose calling it is not so to do.

Q. But have we any evidence of the special virtue of priestly Intercession under the *Christian Dispensation*?

James v. 14,
15.

A. Yes; St. James says, "Is any sick among you? let him call for the *Elders of the Church*, and

let them pray over him: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick: and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." And in the Book of Revelation, the four-and-twenty Elders fall down before the Lamb, having "golden vials full of odours," (or incense,) "which are the prayers of saints." So that Priests pray *with* and *for* the people, and "it is the office of the Holy Spirit to set apart persons for the duty of the Ministry, ordaining them to *intercede* between God and His people, and send up prayers to God for them ¹."

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Acts vi. 4.
viii. 15. 24.
Col. iv. 12.
1 Cor. xiv.
16.

Rev. v. 8.

¹ Bp. PEARSON, on the Creed, Art. viii. Abp. POTTER, on the Church, chap. v. BINGHAM, Antiq. II. xix. 15. It was one act of the Priest's office to offer up the sacrifice of the people's prayers, praises, and thanksgivings, to God, as their mouth and orator, and to make intercession to God for them. Another part of the office was, in God's name, to bless the people, particularly by admitting them to the benefit and privilege of remission of sins by spiritual regeneration or baptism.

Q. But is not all Priestly Intercession superseded and taken away by the *Intercession of Christ*?

A. There is indeed to us but One Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus; and all intercessions are available only by and through Him ¹; but the intercession of His Ministers, acting in His name, and by His authority and appointment, may be considered to be, in a certain sense, His act and His Intercession ².

John x. 9.
xiv. 6.
1 Tim. ii. 5.
Heb. vii. 25.
Acts viii. 24.
ix. 34.

¹ S. AUG. c. Ep. Parmen. ii. 16.

² COTELERIUS in Const. Apost. II. xxv. p. 240. WATERLAND, Works, vii. p. 349. Authorized Ministers perform the office of proper Evangelical Priests in the Communion Service, in three ways:—1. as commemorating; 2. as *handing up*, if I may so speak, those prayers and services

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of Christians to Christ our Lord, Who, as High Priest in heaven, recommends the same in heaven to God the Father ; 3. as offering up to God all the faithful who are under their care and ministry, and who are sanctified by the Spirit. In these three ways the Christian Officers are priests or Liturgs to very excellent purposes far above the *legal* ones, in a sense worth the pursuing with the utmost zeal and assiduity.

RICHARD BAXTER, Christian Directory, p. 714, folio ed. 1673. Christ's Ministers are to be the Guides of the Congregation in Public Worship, and to stand between them and Christ in things pertaining to God as subservient to Christ in his Priestly Office ; and so both *for* the People, and *in their names*, to put up the public Prayers and Praises of the Church to God. It is their duty to administer to them, as in the *name* and *stead* of Christ, His Body and Blood ; and to subserve Christ, especially in His Priestly Office, and to be their agent in offering themselves to God.

Q. You spoke of *Sacerdotal Benediction*, what do you intend by this expression ?

A. I mean the act of the Bishop or Priest presenting persons to God by *Prayer*¹, (and thus being an act of *Intercession*, of which we have already spoken,) and imploring and pronouncing His blessing upon them.

¹ S. AUG. Epist. cxlix. 17. Interpellationes (*ἐντεύξεις*, intercessions, 1 Tim. ii. 1. on which passage he is commenting) fiunt cum populus *benedicitur* ; tunc enim Antistites velut *advocati* susceptos suos per manūs impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt Potestati. S. AUG. de Baptism. iii. 16. Quid aliud est impositio manūs nisi *oratio* super hominem ?

HOOKE, V. LXX. 1. To pray for others is to bless them for whom we pray, because Prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the Prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their piety or zeal that way, or else regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both natural and spiritual Fathers. See HOOKE, below, p. 141.

Q. Have then any particular persons a special power of conveying blessings from God to men ?

Q. Yes. It has pleased God that certain individuals, *as His Ministers*¹, by virtue of their office and appointment from Him, and of the ordaining grace of the Holy Spirit, should communicate His blessings which are given *by Him through* the ministry of *man* to all who by faith and love have the capacity of receiving them.

¹ S. CHRYSOST. ii. 222, ed. Savil. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ προ-
εστὼς δίδωσιν εἰρήνην, καὶ τοῦτο Χριστοῦ τύπος ἐστί· καὶ
δεῖ μετὰ πάσης αὐτὴν δέχεσθαι τῆς προθυμίας.

Bp. TAYLOR, Preface to Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, Works, vii. p. 307. The blessings of religion do descend most properly from our spiritual fathers and with most plentiful emanation. And this hath been the religion of all the world, to derive very much of their blessings by the Priest's particular and signal benediction.

Q. Can you give Examples of this being the case from the *Old Testament*?

A. Yes; Melchizedek, the type of Christ, blessed Abraham. "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them, The Lord bless thee and keep thee: the Lord make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. And they shall put My Name upon the children of Israel; and *I will bless them.*" And again, "The priests, the sons of Levi, shall come near; for them the Lord thy God hath chosen to *bless* in the Name of the Lord."

Gen. xiv. 18,
19.
Heb. vii. 1—
10.
Num. vi. 22,
&c.
Eccius. i. 20,
21.

Deut. xxi. 5.
xxvii. 11.
1 Chron.
xxiii. 13.

Q. Can you give similar Examples from the *New Testament*?

A. Yes. Our Lord thus charged both His

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Matt. x. 13.
 Luke x. 5.
 John xiv. 27.
 Rom. xv. 33.
 xvi. 20.
 1 Cor. i. 3.
 2 Cor. i. 2.
 Gal. i. 3.
 Eph. i. 2.
 2 Cor. xiii.
 11.
 1 Thess. v.
 23.
 2 Thess. iii.
 16.
 1 Tim. i. 2.
 2 Tim. i. 2.
 Tit. i. 4.
 Philem. 3.

Apostles and His seventy Disciples, "Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; if not, it shall turn to you again." And Christ says, "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you." And in conformity with these words the Apostles of Christ imparted their benediction to individual Christians and Christian Churches, not only by word of mouth, but in their letters also¹.

¹ S. CHRYSOSTOM, ap. Damascen. Par. Sac. ii. p. 514.

GEORGE HERBERT, Country Parson, chap. xxxvi. The Country Parson wonders that the *Blessing* the people is in so little use with his brethren, whereas he thinks it not only a grave and reverend thing, but a beneficial also. That which the Apostles used in their writings, nay, which our Saviour Himself used, Mark x. 16, cannot be vain and superfluous. But this was not proper to Christ, or the Apostles only, no more than to be a spiritual Father was appropriated to them. . . . But the Parson first values the gift, and then teacheth his Parish to value it. The same is to be observed in writing *letters* also.

Q. By what significant action has the communication of spiritual grace and blessing to single individuals been always accompanied in the Church?

A. By laying on of hands upon the head of the recipient of the benediction¹.

¹ See references on the next question.

Q. In what rites and offices of the Church is it imparted in this manner?

A. In the Confirmation¹ of those who have been baptized,—wherein spiritual *weapons* are given to those who *enlisted* themselves as *soldiers* of Christ at their *baptism*;—in the reception or re-admission of reconciled sinners²; and in the making,

ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons³.

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¹ In *blessing*, Gen. xlviii. 14. Matt. xix. 15. Mark x. 16. *Ordaining*, Num. viii. 10. 20. xxvii. 18. Acts vi. 6. xiii. 3. 1 Tim. iv. 14. v. 22. 2 Tim. i. 6. *Confirming*, Acts viii. 17. xix. 6.

S. HIERON. adv. Lucif. 4. Ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, Episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrit. See HOOKER, V. LXVI. HAMMOND, De Confirmatione, iv. 851. Bp. TAYLOR, *χρίσις τελειωτική*, xi. 215. COMBER, iii. 451.

² S. HIERON. adv. Lucif. 11. 173. Recipio pœnitentem per manûs impositionem et invocationem Spiritus Sancti.

Concil. Nicæn. 8, 9. Antioch. 17. 22.—S. AUG. ix. 267.

HOOKER, VII. vi. 5.

³ Concil. Nic. c. 19. Chalced. c. 15.

S. HIERON. in Esai. c. 58. *χειροτονία*, id est, ordinatio clericorum non solum ad imprecationem vocis sed ad impositionem impletur manûs; ne scilicet vocis imprecatio clandestina clericos ordinet nescientes.

HOOKER, V. LXVI. 1. With prayers of spiritual and personal benediction the manner hath been in all ages to use *imposition of hands*, as a ceremony betokening our *restrained* desires to the party whom we present unto God by prayer.

PULLER, Moderation of the Church of England, chap. 8 § 9. Our Church doth rightly suppose its Ministers have authority given them to declare and pronounce the Divine promises of blessing, with the conditions of receiving the same: and that they have a special commission given them to pray for God's people and bless them: as the Priests under the Law had commission to bless the people in the name of God, Num. vi. 22. Deut. x. 8. 1 Chron. xxiii. 13. Which practice had nothing ceremonial in it and peculiar to the Law. Wherefore Christ put His hands upon the little children and blessed them, Matt. xix. 13, and commanded His Apostles and Ministers to bless His people, Matt. x. 13. Luke x. 5. And without all contradiction the less is blessed of the greater, Heb. vii. 7. Wherefore for the dignity of the Episcopal Office, the Church doth especially delegate that power and commission to her Bishops, for Confirmation, with imposition of hands, and in Ordination. Neither do

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Q. You have spoken of the sacerdotal benediction of *persons*; have we any Scriptural authority for the blessing of particular *things* also?

A. Yes. St. Paul says, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the blood of Christ?" hence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the Priest lays his hand on the elements¹, when he offers up the prayer of Consecration.

¹ S. AUG. iii. p. 2290. Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.

Q. You have given Scriptural examples of the efficacy of Sacerdotal Intercession and Benediction, how, further, does this efficacy appear from the nature and constitution of the Church of Christ?

A. The Christian Church is One spiritual Body (p. 3), and, its members being joined together in this one Body, all their solemn public acts partake of this character of Unity; and one of the chief of those acts is the making of their wants known to God, which is Prayer; another is the reception of His grace, by Blessing. Accordingly, Christ Himself has declared that there is special efficacy¹ in *united* Prayer; and for the maintenance and public exhibition of this unity in the sacred assemblies of the Church, God has appointed certain Persons to be Orators for the People, who are, as it were, *Angeli ascendentes et descendentes*², messengers ascending to Him with Prayer *from* the people, and descending from Him with Blessing *to* them. And if Unity be the divinely appointed character of the Church,

Matt. v. 24.
xviii. 19, 20.

Acts ii. 1.

God will assuredly bless those means which conduce to maintain that Unity, and which He has appointed for the attainment of that end.

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¹ S. AUGUST. de Bapt. lib. ii. cap. 13. Multum valet ad propitiandum Deum fraterna concordia. "Si duobus ex vobis," ait Dominus, "convenerit in terrâ, quicquid petieritis, fiet vobis." Si duobus hominibus, quanto magis duobus populis? Simul nos Domino prosternamus, participamini nobiscum unitatem, participiemur vobiscum dolorem, et charitas cooperiat multitudinem peccatorum.

² Bp. ANDREWES, v. 355. (Sermon on Luke xi. 2.) Thus much are we to learn from hence, that the Priests are *Angeli Domini exercituum*. If Angels, then they must not only descend to the people to teach them the will of God, but ascend to the presence of God to make intercession for the people. HAMMOND on Rev. i. 23. They are like *Angels ascending and descending* between God and His people, in ruling them, in delivering God's messages to them, and also returning their messages or prayers to God.

Q. You say that these Ministrations of Sacerdotal Intercession and Benediction conduce to maintain Church Unity, how is this the case?

A. Since, as has been shown from Scripture, Public Prayer derives its efficacy from being offered in a spirit of Unity, that is, not only in a special Place, but also in communion with special Persons, and since God has appointed that Public Prayer should be offered, and His Benedictions be received, in this manner¹, it follows that we shall be careful not to separate ourselves from such appointed Places and Persons², lest we forfeit the benefits promised and conferred, in and through them, by Prayer and Blessing, on those "who are gathered together in *Christ's Name*," i. e. in a spirit of love to Him and to His Church; and we shall thus endeavour to "maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace;" "not

Matt. v. 24.
xviii. 19, 20.
1 Tim. ii. 8.
1 Cor. xiii. 1.

Exod. xx. 25.
xxv. 1. 8.

2 Chron. vii.
1. 12—16.

Deut. xii.
5. 13.
xxxi. 11—
13.

Ps. cvii. 32.
Is. ii. 3.
Luke xxiv.
53.
Acts ii. 1.
46. iii. 1.

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 Heb. x. 25.
 Prayer for
 nity.
 Ps. xxvii. 4.
 lxxxiv. 1, 2.

forsaking the assembling of ourselves together," but being assembled all "with one accord in one place," and being all "of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity, we shall with one mind and *one mouth* glorify God."

¹ HAMMOND'S Practical Catechism, lib. iii. sect. 2, p. 200. The union of so many hearts being most likely to prevail, and the presence of some godly to bring down mercies on those others whose prayers for themselves have no promise to be heard, especially if performed by a consecrated person, whose office it is to draw nigh unto God, namely, to offer up Prayer, &c. to Him, and to be the ambassador and messenger between God and man, God's ambassador to the people, *in God's stead beseeching them to be reconciled*; and the people's ambassador to God, to offer up our requests for grace, for pardon, for mercies to Him. See HOOKER, V. xxiv.

² BINGHAM'S Antiquities, XVI. i. 5. The fifth Canon (of the Council of Gangra) is to the same effect: "If any one teach that the House of God, and the assemblies held therein, are to be despised, let him be anathema." The sixth forbids all private and irregular assemblies: "If any hold other assemblies privately out of the Church, and condemning the Church will have ecclesiastical offices performed without a Presbyter licensed by the Bishop, let him be anathema."

Q. How was this principle for the maintenance of Unity by these Ministrations practically carried out in the Primitive Church?

A. In the early ages of the Church, Christendom consisted of independent Provinces, as has been shown, (above, p. 108,) and these were subdivided into what are now termed Dioceses, each of which had a Bishop as its *Centre of Unity*¹, the Presbyters of the Diocese being subject to and united with their Bishop, and the People being in communion with their respective Pastors². And

as the Bishop was the Centre of Unity¹, for the purposes of diffusing Grace to all, and of joining all together², and of presenting them unitedly to God, so the Cathedral³ was the common Mother Church of the whole Diocese; and thus, by personal and local communion, the Faithful of each Diocese were united together as one man in the offices of Public Worship, and were partakers of those Graces⁴ which are specially promised by God to those who "dwell together in Unity."

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Ps. cxxxiii.
1.

¹ BINGHAM, XVI. I. 6. The *standing rule* of the Catholic Church was to have but one Bishop in a Church as the *Centre of Unity*.

² S. CYPRIAN, Ep. lxix. al. lxvi. ad Florent. p. 168. Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens. Unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesiâ esse, et Ecclesiam in Episcopo.

S. CYPRIAN, Ep. xxvii. al. xxxiii. ad Lapsos, p. 66. Inde per temporum et successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur.

³ Bp. GIBSON, Codex, p. 171. The *Cathedral Church* is the *Parish Church* of the *whole Diocese*.

⁴ S. IGNATIUS ad Ephes. v. εἰ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχῇ ταύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας; Ad Magnes. μὴ ὑμεῖς μηδὲν ἄνευ Ἐπισκόπου πράσσετε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις. on which passage see

HAMMOND, iv. 750. Palam est de unitarum Ecclesiæ Precum beneficio sermonem institui. Hanc inquit *Unitatem* in eo consistere ut omnes Episcopo morem gerant. Hic ἐνὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἶναι significat Unitatis illius potissimam partem, sic Episcopo ut Capiti concorporari, ut *precum Ecclesiasticarum* particeps fiat.

S. CHRYSOSTOM, vi. p. 408, Savil. εὔχεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας δυνατόν, οὕτω δὲ εὔχεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀδύνατον, ὅπου πατέρων πλῆθος τοσοῦτον, ὅπου βοή

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πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀναπέμπεται—ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐστὶ τί πλεῖον, οἷον ἡ ὁμόνοια, ἡ συμφωνία, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ σύνδεσμος καὶ αἱ τῶν ἱερέων εὐχαί. See also vi. 663.

Prayer for UNITY, in Form of Prayer for Queen's Accession.

HOOKE, V. xxxix. 1. If the Prophet David did think that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the House of God, should make the bond of their love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity, (Ps. lv. 14.) how much more may we judge it reasonable to hope that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their pastor, and in their pastor towards every of them, between whom these daily and interchangeably pass in the hearing of God Himself, and in the presence of His holy Angels, so many heavenly acclamations, exultations, provocations, petitions, songs of comfort, psalms of praise and thanksgiving, as when the pastor maketh their suits, and they with one voice testify a general assent thereunto.

On this and the two preceding chapters, consult W. LAW'S Three Letters to Bp. Hoadly, i. p. 364 (in the Scholar Armed). See also i. p. 362, on Benediction; i. p. 368—370, on Intercession; i. 382—391, 495, on Absolution; i. p. 500, on Excommunication.

CHAPTER XVI.

PRIVILEGES IN THE CHURCH.

Set Forms of Public Prayer.

Q. WHAT other benefit do we receive through the Church, besides the pure Word of God, the Administration of the Sacraments, Discipline, Intercession, and Benediction? (Chaps. vi—xv.)

A. That of *sound set Forms of Common Prayer?*

Q. How do we receive them by the Church?

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A. Because, even if the Church could exist without them, they could not exist without the Church: that is, they could not exist without stated Times, Places, and Persons, set apart for the exercise of religious worship.

Q. What authority have we for expecting to receive special benefits from *Public Prayer*?

A. When our Lord described the Temple, He called it a "*House of Prayer*;" and to *Public Prayers*, as distinguished from *Private*, a special blessing is promised by Christ Himself: "Where two or three are *gathered together* in My Name, there am I in the midst of them¹."

Matt. xxi. 13.
Isa. lvi. 7.
Matt. xviii.
20.

¹ HOOKER, V. XXIV. V. XXV. The House of Prayer is a place beautified with the presence of celestial powers; there we stand, we pray, we sound forth hymns to God, having His Angels intermingled as our associates.

Q. In what way are *set Forms* of Public Prayer advantageous?

A. Set forms of sound words, as distinguished from extemporaneous Prayers, are free¹ from the danger of offending the majesty of God by irrelevant and irreverent expressions, and "endless and senseless effusions of indigested prayers, and of thus disgracing the worthiest² part of Christian duty towards God³;" they are formed after Christ's own precept⁴; they impart fervour to the lukewarm, and are a restraint on fanaticism; they are public, solemn professions of true Religion, to which they give life and vigour; they maintain unimpaired "*the proportion of faith*," τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως: they deliver the Minister from the peril of pride, and of unduly exalting and dwell-

Rom. xii. 6.

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Above,
p. 143.

ing upon one doctrine, and depressing and neglecting another; they are a standard of preaching, and a rule for hearing; they unite the hearts and voices of Christian men and of Christian congregations with each other, with the saints departed, and with angels in heaven; they give public significations of Christian charity for those who cannot or will not communicate in them; they serve to maintain Unity by Unison and Uniformity; they are like a sacred anchor, by which the Church is safely moored in the peaceful harbour of Catholic Truth and Love.

¹ Bp. TAYLOR, vol. vii. p. 285—307.

² HOOKER, V. VI. 2. This present world affordeth not any thing comparable unto the Public Duties of Religion.

³ HOOKER, V. XXV. 5. *ibid.* 4. No doubt from God it hath proceeded, and by us it must be acknowledged a work of His singular Care and Providence, that the Church hath *evermore* held a *prescript form* of *Common Prayer*, although not in all things every where the same, yet for the most part retaining still the same analogy. . . . If the liturgies of all ancient Churches be compared, it may easily be perceived that the public prayers in churches thoroughly settled, did never use to be voluntary, dictates proceeding from any man's extemporal wits. King CHARLES I. Works, *Icon Basiliké*, chap. xvi. Bp. BULL, Serm. xiii. vol. i. p. 336.

⁴ HOOKER, V. XXVI. 2. Who hath left us of His own framing a Prayer which might both remain as a *part* of the Church Liturgy, and serve as a *pattern* whereby to frame all our prayers.

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On the Anglican Branch of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER I.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND. ITS ORIGIN.

Q. The Catholic Church is compared by the Christian Fathers to the Sea¹, as being diffused throughout all the world; as being, like the Sea, one; as having one name, that of the Catholic Church; and as containing within it many Catholic Churches with various names, as the Ocean has many various seas and bays within it: is the CHURCH of ENGLAND one of these Churches? CHAP. I.

A. Yes.

¹ S. THEOPHIL. Antioch. Autolyc. ii. 14.

See the beautiful comparison of St. AMBROSE, Hexaëm. iii. 5. Bene Mari plerumque comparatur Ecclesia, &c.

S. AMBROSE de Benedict. Patriarch. lib. i. cap. 5. Ecclesia, spectans Hæreticorum procellas et naufragia Judæorum, tanquam Portus salutis, quæ expansis brachiis in gremium tranquillitatis suæ vocet periclitantes, locum fidæ stationis ostendens. Ecclesiæ igitur in hoc sæculo tamquam Portus maritimi per littora diffusi occurrunt laborantibus,

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dicentes esse credentibus refugium præparatum, quo ventis quassata navigia possint subducere.

HOOKER, III. I. 14. As the main body of the Sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names, so the Catholic Church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct societies, every one of which is termed a Church within itself.

Q. How do you prove that she is a part of the Catholic Church?

A. Because she is united with it in Origin, in Doctrine, and in Government.

Q. How in *Origin*?

A. By means of the unbroken succession of her Bishops and Pastors, through whom she traces her origin¹ from the Apostles, some of whom are recorded to have preached the Gospel in the British Isles.

¹ TERTULLIAN, Præscr. Hæret. c. 20. Omne genus ad Originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot et tantæ Ecclesiæ Una est Illa ab Apostolis Prima, ex quâ Omnes. Sic omnes Prima et Apostolica dum una omnes probant unitatem.

Ibid. Apostoli Ecclesias condiderunt a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ Ecclesiæ mutuatae sunt et quotidie mutantur ut *Ecclesiæ fiant*, ac per hoc Apostolicæ deputantur ut soboles Ecclesiarum Apostolicarum.

See below, Pt. ii. chap. vi. On the Apostolical Succession in the Church of England.

Q. You say that the Church of England was founded in the Apostolic age; how is this consistent with the opinion sometimes maintained, that its inhabitants were first converted to Christianity by St. Augustine, sent from Rome for that purpose by Pope Gregory the First, at the close of the sixth century (A. D. 596)?

A. St. Augustine converted the Saxon inha-

bitants of a *part* of England¹ (Kent), who had invaded that region and dispossessed the ancient British inhabitants; but they *relapsed* into *heathenism* in a little more than twenty years after the arrival of Augustine²; and there were Christian Bishops in Britain several hundred years *before* he landed there³.

¹ Abp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 266-8.

² CHURTON, Early English Church, chaps. i. ii.

See also the Brief Account, in the form of a chronicle, of the Scottish and Italian Missions to the Anglo-Saxons, by the Rev. D. I. HEATH, Lond. 1845, p. 4.

³ GILDAS, Britannus Sapiens, (sæculi vi^{ti}) de Excid. Brit. init. See below, p. 154.

CRANKANTHORPE, Defens. Eccl. Anglic. p. 25. Amplificavit Augustinus inter Anglos Ecclesiam, *non fundavit*.

Q. What proof have you of this?

A. Eusebius¹ asserts that some of the Apostles passed over to Britain. Tertullian, who lived in the *second* century after Christ, speaks of "*Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita*." Origen, who lived in the next age, speaks of Britain consenting in the worship of the true God. And St. Alban was martyred under Diocletian (A.D. 305), nearly three hundred years before the landing of St. Augustine.

¹ TERTULL. c. Judæos, c. vii. EUSEB. Præp. Evang. iii. 7. ORIGEN, Hom. in Ezek. iv. in S. Luc. i. hom. 6. See also S. CHRYSOSTOM, tom. ii. p. 499. v. 919. vi. 638. viii. 3, ed. Savil.

Q. Since, then, there were *Christians* in England even from the Apostolic times, can you further show that there were Christian *Bishops*?

A. Yes; it follows, first from the very nature of the case. *Ecclesia in Episcopo* was the motto of

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primitive Christianity; and also, *Ubi Ecclesia, ibi Episcopus*¹. There was in those ages no idea of such a thing as a Church without a Bishop².

¹ S. IGNAT. ad Trall. vii. ad Phil. iv. ad Smyrn. vii.

S. CYPRIAN, Ep. 66. p. 168, ed. Fell. Scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesiâ esse, et Ecclesiam in Episcopo; et si qui cum Episcopo non sunt, in Ecclesiâ non esse.

² GRABE, ad S. Irenæum, p. 199. CASAUBON, Exerc. Baron. pp. 307-8, ed. 1654. See above, pt. i. ch. x.

Q. Does the existence of British Bishops antecedent to Augustine appear from any other evidence?

A. Yes. British Bishops were present at the earliest Councils of the Church; viz. at the Council of Arles¹, A.D. 314. (At which time there were three Metropolitans in Britain, as there were three Provinces, one Maxima Cæsariensis, the other Britannia Prima, the third Britannia Secunda; the seat of the Metropolitan of the first being York; of the second, London; of the third, Caerleon on Usk in Monmouthshire.) Again, at the Council of Sardica², A.D. 347; and again, probably, at that of Ariminum³, A.D. 359; and there were, we know, seven British Bishops and a British Archbishop, when Augustine landed in England⁴.

¹ CONCIL. ARELAT. Labbe, i. p. 1430. (Contra Donatistas, Concilium convocante Constantino M.) to which are attached the following subscriptions:—

Eborius, Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi, provinciâ Britannia.—Restitutus, Episcopus de civitate Londinensi, provinciâ suprascriptâ.—Adelphinus, Episcopus de civitate coloniâ Londinensium, (Coloniâ Lindi, Lincoln. Bingham, ix. 6, 20. Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 350.) exinde sacerdos *Presbyter*, Arminius *Diaconus*.

From the above signatures it is clear that there were then in England the three Orders of *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. CHAP. I.

Abp. USSHER, Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 73. BREREWOOD, in Abp. Ussher's Original of Bishops and Metropolitans, Oxford, 1641. CRAKANTHORPE, Defens. Eccles. Anglic. p. 23. Bp. STILLINGFLEET, Orig. Brit. p. 78, ed. 1837.

² S. ATHANAS. Apol. ii. init. BINGHAM, IX. i. 5.

³ Sulp. SEVER. H. S. ii. ad fin.

⁴ GILFRID, De Gest. Britt. viii. Eo tempore quo Augustinus Monachus in Britanniam missus est a Gregorio Christianismus viguit, cum fuerint in eâ *septem Episcopatus* et *unus Archiepiscopatus*. Vide Bed. ii. 2. The Archbishop was the *Menevensis Episcopus* (Bp. of St. David's). Concerning the transfer of the archiepiscopal see, first from Caerleon to Llandaff, and thence to St. David's, Sir H. SPELMAN thus speaks: Discesserat hæc dignitas archiepiscopalis a Caerlegione ad Landaviam sub Dubritio, primo Landavensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, A.D. 512; mox a Landaviâ ad Meneviam cum S. Davide proximo ejus successore, annos plus minus 80 ante istam Augustini synodum, translationi aspirante Arthuro rege invictissimo; sed *retento pariter Caerlegionis titulo* (WILKINS, Concil. i. p. 24, not.). See below, chap. iii. p. 165—169.

Bishop BEVERIDGE, ad Canon. Concil. Nicæn. i. p. 58. Ecclesia Britannica erat *αὐτοκέφαλος*, nulli extraneo Episcopo sed suo soli Metropolitano subjacens.

It may here be added, that not only the Britons, but also the Scots and Picts had received the Gospel before the time of Augustine. See MASON, de Minist. ii. 4.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND INDEPENDENT OF ROME.

Period before the Arrival of St. Augustine.

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Q. THERE were, then, Christians and Christian Bishops in Britain from the Apostolic times¹; but can you show, further, that the British Church did not derive its origin from that of *Rome*, and was not dependent on it?

A. There is no evidence whatever of any such dependence. *No trace whatever* can be found of the Pope of Rome having exercised any ecclesiastical authority in England for the first *six hundred years after Christ*²; and it is certain that England did not receive her Christianity at first through Rome; indeed there is very good ground for believing that the Church of *England* is some years *older* than that of *Rome*³.

¹ BINGHAM, *Antiquities*, IX. vi. 20. Indeed it would appear that there were *more* Bishops in England and Wales at the time of the *Saxon Invasion* [*i. e.* 150 years *before* the arrival of Augustine], than there *are at this day*.

² Abp. BRAMHALL, p. 158.

³ CRAKANTHORPE, *Defensio Eccl. Angl.* p. 23. De Britannicâ Ecclesiâ nostrâ liquidum est fuisse eam aliquot *ante* Romanam annis fundatam. . . . *Glaciali* (inquit Gildas) frigore rigenti insulæ (de Britannia agit) Christus suos radios, id est sua præcepta, indulget, tempore ut scimus summo Tiberii Cæsaris. Supremum Tiberii tempus incidit in xvii. kal. April. A.D. xxxix. natalitia vero *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ in xv. kal. Feb. A.D. xlv. (teste Baronio). Disce jam hinc sapere. Disce Romanam Ecclesiam Britannicæ nostræ non *matrem* sed

sororem atque *sororem* integro quinquennio *minorem*. See CHAP. II.
also F. MASON, de Ministerio, p. 72. Apparet Evangelium in
Britanniâ citius quam Romæ emicuisse.

Q. Give evidence of this non-reception of Christianity, in the first instance, from *Rome*.

A. To omit other proofs, we may appeal to the English word *Church*¹, which is derived, as has been before said, (part i. chap. i.) from the *Greek* Κυριακή, a term which no *Roman* ever applied to the Church (which he called *Ecclesia*, and by no other name): and it is not credible that, *if* the Church of England had been derived from *Rome*, it should have been designated by a title *foreign* to *Rome*.

¹ Bp. BEVERIDGE, in Canon xv. Concil. Ancyran., and on Art. xix.—Routh, Rel. Sacr. iii. 489. It is probable that this word is due *immediately* to the Scottish and Saxon missionaries under AIDAN, who followed the Eastern Church in the time of observing Easter.

Q. Yes. The word *Church* is, no doubt, of *Greek* origin, and is unknown to the *Roman* tongue; is there any other proof that the English Church was derived from some country where the *Greek*, and not *Roman*, language was spoken?

A. Yes. The facts that the British Church, and indeed a great portion of the Saxon Church, from A.D. 635 till A.D. 664, followed the Asiatic custom in keeping Easter, and in its manner of administering Baptism—(points in which they differed from the *Roman Church*, as Augustine himself said in his speech to the British Bishops, adding, that there were also other things "*quæ agilis moribus nostris contraria*"')—seem to show that the Church of England was derived, through

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Isa. ii. 3.
Micah iv. 2.
Luke xxiv.
47.

a Greek or Asiatic channel², from *that* whence the *Roman* itself came, namely, from the *Mother of all Churches*, the Church of *Jerusalem*³.

¹ BEDA, Ecclesiast. Histor. Gentis Anglorum, ii. c. 2.

² Sir ROGER TWISDEN, Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, p. 7.

CRANKANTHORPE, Def. Eccl. Angl. p. 24.

³ CONCIL. CONST. (i. e. the second General Council) in Synodic. Epist. Theodoret, v. 9. μήτηρ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἣ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. S. HIERON. in Esai. ii. In *Hierusalem* primum fundata Ecclesia totius Orbis Ecclesias seminavit. Bp. BULL, ii. p. 192. 199. ed. 1827.

Q. The Church of England, then, was not planted by Rome: was it in any way dependent on it?

P. 154.

A. As has been before said¹, for the first six centuries after Christ, no ecclesiastical authority was exercised in Britain by the Bishop of Rome. So true is this, that Gregory himself, about A.D. 590, being told that certain children whom he saw at Rome were "*de Britannid insulâ*," did not even know², but enquired for information, whether they were *Pagan or Christian?* and the British Bishops declared to St. Augustine that they were under a Metropolitan of their own, the Bishop of Caerleon, and that they knew nothing of the Bishop of Rome as an ecclesiastical *superior*³.

¹ INETT, Church History. Origines Anglicanæ, ii. p. 488.

² JOH. DIAC. Vit. Gregor. i. c. 21. GREG. M. Opera, tom. iv. p. 8.

³ See speech of Dinoh, Abbot of Bangor, to Augustine (Wilkins, Concilia, i. p. 26, compared with Bingham, IX. i. 11). And even as late as A.D. 787, the legate of Pope Adrian the First writes to him from England thus: *Ut scitis*, a tempore Sancti Augustini Pontificis sacerdos *nullus* illuc (i. e. to

England) missus est nisi nos. (Wilkins, Concil. i. 146.) And Girald. Cambr. Itinerar. ii. c. 1, states that all the Bishops of Wales received their consecration from their own Metropolitan (Menevensi Antistite) the Bishop of St. David's, till the time of Henry I. "nullâ penitus alii Ecclesiæ factâ professione vel subiectione." BEDA, Eccl. Hist. ii. c. 2. See also above, p. 152 ; below, chap. iii.

Q. But did not the first General Council, that of Nice in Bithynia (A.D. 325), acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to be *Patriarch* of the *West* (Canon 6) ?

A. No ; the Council of Nice¹ recognized the Bishop of Alexandria as having authority over the Churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, as the Bishops of Rome, Antioch, and other patriarchal Churches, had over their own Ecclesiastical Districts respectively, and *no further*. And the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction extended only (see above, pt. i. c. xii. note, p. 110—112,) to what were called the *Suburbicariæ Ecclesiæ*², that is, to the Churches of *middle and southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica* : and even the Bishops of Milan, Ravenna and Aquileia, in Italy, were not ordained by, nor dependent on, the Bishop of Rome, for more than six hundred years after Christ. So far, then, from his being *Patriarch* of the *West*, in the fourth century, the Bishop of Rome's Patriarchate did *not* even include all *Italy* ; for the ordination or confirmation of Metropolitans in a Patriarchate is an essential part of patriarchal power. (See above, p. 114.)

¹ Canones et Concil. Bruns. p. 16.

² RUFFIN. Hist. Eccles. xi. 6. Apud Alexandriam et in urbe Româ vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut ille (Alexandrinus

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Episcopus) Ægypti, hic Suburbicariarum Ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat. Ruffinus was a Roman Presbyter, and flourished in the next century to the Nicene Council, and therefore his evidence concerning the limits of the Roman Patriarchate, and on the meaning of this Nicene canon, is unexceptionable.

The language of the Church historian, DUPIN, himself a member of the Church of Rome, is very explicit as to this point (viz. the limits of the *Roman Patriarchate*), as follows ;

DUPIN, de Antiq. Eccles. p. 32. Patriarchatûs Romani limites non videntur excessisse provincias eas, quæ Vicario *Urbis* parebant, dicunturque a Ruffino *suburbicariæ*. Nam extra istas provincias etiam in Italiâ Metropolitani Episcopos omnes ordinabant, et ipsi ab Episcopis provinciæ ordinabantur . . . At in aliis provinciis minime suburbicariis jus ordinationum pontificem Romanum habuisse probari non potest. Imo constat, non tantum Episcopos omnes a Metropolitanis sed et Metropolitanos ipsos ab Episcopis cujusque provinciæ fuisse ordinatos : ergo extra controversiam esse debet, Rom. pontificem in solis provinciis suburbicariis primum ac præcipuum patriarcharum jus habuisse. . . Nihilominus tamen successu temporis Romanus Pontifex patriarchatûs sui limites, quantum potuit, extendit : ac primo Illyricum ditioni suæ per vicarios adjicere conatus est : deinde vero non modo totam Italiam, sed et Gallias atque Hispaniam patriarchatûs sui limitibus comprehendi voluit.

DUPIN, de Antiq. Eccles. p. 70. Provinciæ autem suburbicariæ aliæ dici non possunt, quam illæ, quæ circa Romam adjacebant : quæ *Urbs* dicitur *ἀυτονομαστικῶς*. Docet id vel ipsum nomen, quod regiones ab *urbe* non longe positas significat, tum etiam imperatoriarum legum auctoritas, in quibus provinciæ suburbicariæ adpellantur eæ, quæ circa Romam adjacebant. Et procul dissitis ab urbe regionibus, ut Africæ, Galliæ, et Hispaniæ, opponuntur.

S. LEONIS Opera, ii. p. 452, ed. 1700. The *note* in this edition, published by P. Quesnel, another member of the Church of Rome, proves this. See also on this point the Abbé FLEURY, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Bruxelles, 1721. tom. viii. p. 41. Saint Grégoire n'entroit dans ce détail que pour les Eglises qui dépendoient particulièrement du Saint

Siège, et que par cette raison on nommoit *Suburbicaires*; savoir celles de la *partie méridionale d'Italie*, où il étoit seul Archevêque, celles de Sicile et des autres îles, quoiqu'elles eussent de Métropolitains. Mais on ne trouvera pas qu'il exerçât le même pouvoir immédiat dans les provinces dépendantes de Milan, d'Aquilée, ni dans l'Espagne et les Gaules. CHAP. II.

Archbp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. 25. In ancient times Britain was never subject to the see of Rome; for it was one of the dioceses of the Western Empire (Notitia Prov. Occident. Panciroli, ii. c. 48), and had a Primate of its own; whence Pope Urban the Second, at the Council of Bari, accounted St. Anselm (of Canterbury) as his own compeer, and said he was the Apostolic and *Patriarch* of the other world. (Guil. Malmsbur. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 223.) Now the Britons, having a Primate of their own, (which is greater than a Metropolitan,) yea, a *Patriarch*, if you will, (ibi Cantuariæ prima sedes archiepiscopi habetur, qui est totius Angliæ *Primas* et *Patriarcha*, says William of Malmsbury, in Prol. lib. i. de Gestis Pont. Ang. p. 195,) he could not be appealed from to Rome, by St. Gregory's own doctrine, Epist. xi. 54, *Patriarcha* secundum canones et leges præbeat finem. See also CRANKANTHORPE, Def. Eccl. Angl. p. 96. BINGHAM, Antiq. IX. i. 9—11. PALMER on the Church, ii. 538—543.

Q. But did not the Council of Arles in Gaul, A.D. 314, at which three British Bishops were present, in their synodical letter to Pope Sylvester¹, acknowledge him as holding the *majores Diœceses*?

A. Yes, certainly it did; but the term *Diocese*² did not then mean a Patriarchal Province, but one of several *subdivisions* of a Province; and it is certain that the Fathers of that Council never understood these *majores Diœceses* to extend beyond the *Suburbicarian Churches* above mentioned: and they never conceived the Bishop of Rome, who was not present there, to have any

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jurisdiction over themselves, as is clear from their enacting Canons without him, and from the following words in the same synodical letter, "*Te pariter nobiscum* judicante, cœtus noster majore lætitiâ exultasset;" and from the appellation "*frater carissime*," by which they address him.

¹ Ep. Synod. Concil. Arelat. i. p. 1426, ed. Labbe, 1671. Placuit ergo, præsentē Spiritu Sancto et angelis Ejus, ut et his qui singulos quos movebat judicare proferremus de quiete præsentī. Placuit etiam antequam a te qui *maiores diœceses* tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari. The text of both these sentences is corrupt; for conjectural emendations of the latter, see Bingham, IX. i. 11. ROUTH, Rel. Sac. iv. 87.

² Suiceri Thesaur. p. 919. Diviso a Constantino imperio latior fuit διοικήσεως appellatio. Tum enim *Diœcesis* non fuit una provincia, sed administratio multarum simul provinciarum.

Q. But what do you say to the appellate jurisdiction *given* to the see of Rome by the Council of Sardica in Illyria, A.D. 347 (Canons 3, 4, 7)?

A. If *given then*, we may infer that it was not *possessed before*, and, whatever it may be, it is therefore not only of *human*, but *not* of *primitive* nor very *early* institution. But further, the Council of Sardica, wishing to have means of meeting a *particular* case, that of St. Athanasius, *permits*¹, but does not *require*, that a reference may be made, not to the Bishop of Rome generally², but personally to Julius, the *then* Bishop of that see, if a Bishop thinks himself aggrieved in a judicial matter: and this reference is to be made by the judges who tried the cause; in which case the Bishop of Rome *may desire* the cause to be reheard by the neighbouring Bishops, *in the country*

where it arose, and may *send* assessors to them. CHAP. II.
 So far was the Council of Sardica from giving a right of appeal *to Rome* in the common sense of the term. And further still, it is to be observed, that this Council of Sardica was *not* a *General* one³; and that the whole of this decree was subsequently *reversed* by a General Council, that of Chalcedon (Can. ix. xvii. xxv.)

¹ Canones Apost. et Concil. Bruns. p. 90. "Ὁσῖος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε—εἴ τις ἐπισκόπων ἐν τινι πράγματι δόξει κατακρίνεσθαι, καὶ ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτὸν μὴ σαθρὸν ἀλλὰ καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα αὐθις ἢ κρίσις ἀνανεωθῇ, εἰ δοκεῖ ὑμῶν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὴν μνήμην τιμήσωμεν καὶ γραφῆναι παρὰ τούτων τῶν κρινάντων Ἰουλίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης ὥστε διὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων, εἰ δέοι, ἀνανεωθῆναι τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ἐπιγνώμονας αὐτὸς παράσχοι.

² CRAKANTH. Def. Eccl. Ang. Ad Julium, non ad Papam Romanum; privilegium Sardicense personale fuit, ideoque eum personâ Julii extinctum.

³ This is clearly stated by Casaubon, De Lib. Eccles. p. 223, ad finem; Abp. Bramhall, ii. p. 533, ed. Oxf.; Bp. Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. ch. iii. p. 146; Bingham, IX. i. 11. XVII. v. 14; Routh, Præf. ad Script. Eccl. p. iii.; and also by *Romanist* writers, as Archbp. de Marca, de Conciliis, vii. c. ii—iv. Du Pin, Dissert. Eccl. 11. § 3, p. 84. 89. 110, and P. Quesnel, in his edition of Pope Leo's Works, ii. p. 256, who says, Illi (Sardicensi) Concilio debetur earum appellationum origo, et inde appellationum usui ratio quæsitæ est a Romanis Pontificibus, licet revera *nihil de appellationibus* decernant Sardicenses Patres, sed tantum retractationis seu revisionis causæ decernendæ potestatem faciant Romano Episcopo. Quæ potestas retractationis in ipsâ Provinciâ decernendæ, etsi jure appellationum longe inferior sit, trepidè tamen et dubitanter admodum ab Osio proposita est, qui rem *novam* canonibus Nicænis minimè consonam, constantique adversam consuetudini quasi supplex et honorandam S. Petri memoriam prætendens exoravit; *si vobis placet*,

PART II. inquit, Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus.—Vide ibid. p. 307, 308.

Archbp. DE MARCA, de Concordiâ, vi. 30, also refutes the notion that this Council gave any right of appeal to Rome—vii. 3, 2. Satis modestè hæc lex Synodi Sardicensis observata est usque ad seculum x.—till the time of Gregory VII. who elevated the Legatine authority above that of all Provincial Bishops.—Vide ibid. v. 47. vi. 30, 9.

DUPIN thus expresses himself on the same subject, Eccles. Dissertat. ii. p. 89. Sciunt omnes quantum sit discrimen inter jus istud revisionis decernendæ, et jus adpellationis admittendæ, nam adpellatio, ut definit Petrus de Marca, *causam inferiori tribunali judicatam ad superiorem transfert, ut litem excutiat, et definiat in suo tribunali, ita ut quamdiu durat adpellatio, sententia inferioris judicis non possit executioni demandari.* At nihil simile est in eo privilegio, quod Romano pontifici concedit Synodus Sardicensis.—P. 91. Porro canones isti Sardicenses nunquam in oriente et sero in occidente recepti sunt. De oriente jam constat illo ipso tempore, quo condebantur, orientes episcopos contrarium prorsus stituisse. Deinceps autem tum in concilio Constantinopolitano, tum in Chalcedonensi, tum in Trullano, nullam hujus revisionis mentionem fecerunt, jusseruntque causas omnes synodi provincialis, aut ad summum patriarchalis judicio finiri. In occidente porro post hanc synodum adversus disciplinam in ea sancitam reclamarunt Africani, reclamarunt et Galli, ut dicemus infra, imo ne ipsi quidem Itali illos in auctoritatem admiserunt.—P. 110. At non ita se gessit *Concilium Tridentinum*, nam illud omnem prorsus judicandorum Episcoporum potestatem Episcopis aliis ademit, et *Soli Pontifici Romano* reservavit sessione vigesima quarta de reform. cap. v.

The correspondence of St. Augustin (of Hippo) and the African Bishops with Pope Zosimus, A.D. 418, shows that the Sardican Canons were unknown in Africa in the fifth century, and that Rome was not then acknowledged to have any such appellate jurisdiction as, on the ground of those Sardican Canons, it has since claimed. See Cabassutii Concilia, p. 236.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND INDEPENDENT OF
ROME.*Mission of St. Augustine.*

Q. You have said that the Bishop of Rome CHAP. III.
exercised no jurisdiction in England during the
first six centuries; but may it not be justly alleged
that he might *acquire* Patriarchal authority over
England by the *conversion* of the Saxons to Chris-
tianity by Augustine, sent from Rome by Pope
Gregory the First, A.D. 596?

A. No. By *conversion* they became not Gre- 1 Cor. i. 12,
13. iii. 5, 7.
gory's, nor Augustine's, but CHRIST'S. And fur-
ther, Augustine, it is true, converted Ethelbert,
king of the *Cantii*, and the inhabitants of *part*
of *his* kingdom; but Bertha, his queen, was a
Christian already; and there was a Christian
Bishop, Liudhard, and a Christian Church in his
capital city, Canterbury, before Augustine's ar-
rival¹: and even if Augustine had converted the
whole Heptarchy, no such right could by that act
have been acquired². If such right were to accrue
by *conversion*, all Christian Churches, and Rome
among them, would be subject to "the Mother of
all Churches, the Church of Jerusalem" (above,
p. 156).

¹ BEDA, Hist. Eccles. i. 25.

² Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. 266—268.

Q. But might not the Pope *obtain* a Patriarchal

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authority by the *ordination* of St. Augustine, and of those who were ordained by him?

A. No. This plea is under another form, the same as that of *conversion*; for *that* supposes the planting of a Church, and a Church supposes an *ordained ministry* of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons¹; and, besides, as Britain had never been under the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, but had been always governed by her own Bishops, the assertion of such authority on the part of the Popes of Rome is an infraction of the Canon of the General Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431); which Pope Gregory himself declared that he regarded, as he did the three other General Councils, with the highest veneration².

¹ S. IGNAT. ad Trall. 3. χωρὶς τούτων Ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. See above, pt. i. ch. ix.

² GREG. Mag. ii. p. 515. 632. Sicut quatuor Evangelii libros, sic quatuor Concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor, totâ devotione complector, integerrimâ approbatione custodio.

Q. What is the tenor of that Ephesine Canon?

A. It is expressed as follows: "Rheginus and his fellow Bishops of the province of CYPRUS, Zeno and Evagrius, having brought under our notice an innovation against the laws of the Church and the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and affecting the liberty of all; this holy Synod, seeing that public disorders require greater remedies, inasmuch as they bring greater damage, decrees that, if no ancient custom has prevailed for the Bishop of Antioch to ordain in CYPRUS—as the depositions made to us attest there has *not*—the Prelates of the Cyprian Churches shall, according to the decrees of the Holy Fathers and to ancient prac-

tice, exercise the right of ordaining in the said Church unmolested and inviolable. And the same rule shall be observed *in all other dioceses and provinces* whatsoever, so that no Bishop shall occupy another province which has not been subject to him *from the beginning*; and if he shall have made any such occupation or seizure, let him make restitution, lest the Canons of the Holy Fathers¹ be transgressed; and lest under pretext of sacerdocy the pride of power should creep in, and thus we should, by little and little, lose the liberty which the Liberator of all men, JESUS CHRIST, has purchased for us with His own blood²." By this right, which is called the *JUS CYPRIUM*³, the Church of England is independent of all foreign jurisdiction; and by the same authority the Pope, if he claim any such authority, is guilty of unwarrantable usurpation.

¹ *EPISTOLA* Episcoporum Ægypti ad Melet. circa A.D. 306. Routh, Reliq. Sacr. iii. p. 382. Lex et Patrum et Propatrum, constituta secundum Divinum et Ecclesiasticum ordinem, in alienis Parœciis non licere alicui Episcoporum ordinationes celebrare. Cp. *ibid.* p. 391, and vol. iv. p. iv.

² *CONCILIA* Generalia, iii. p. 802, ed. Labbe, 1671. And this was again affirmed by the Council of Trullo (Conc. Quini-Sextum), the Vth and VIth General Council, canon 39.

³ BINGHAM, Antiquities, bk. ii. chap. xviii. § 3. And this (*jus Cyprium*) was also the ancient liberty of the Britannic Church before the coming of Austin the Monk, when the seven British bishops paid obedience to the Archbishop of Caer-Leon, and acknowledged no superior in spirituals over him: as Dionothus, the learned Abbot of Bangor, told Austin in the name of all the Britannic Churches; 'that they owed no other obedience to the Pope of Rome than they did to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in

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perfect charity ; other obedience than this they knew none due to him whom *he* named pope. But they were under the government of the Bishop of Caer Leon-upon-Uske, who was their overseer under God.' See also BINGHAM, ix. ch. i. 11, 12 ; and above, chap. i. at the end, p. 153.

HAMMOND'S Works, Reply on Schism, ii. pp. 31. 93.

Abp. BRAMHALL, ii. p. 406.

And this is confessed even by some Roman Catholic writers, as by BARNS *Cath. Rom. Pacif.* sect. 3, in the Appendix to Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, p. 839. *Insula Brittannia gavisa est olim privilegio Cyprio. Hoc autem privilegium cum tempore Henrici Octavi totius Regni consensu fuerit restitutum, videtur pacis ergo retineri debere absque schismatis ullius notâ.* See also *ibid.* p. 841, 842.

Q. But is not the case of England very different from that of Cyprus, inasmuch as in Cyprus, at the time of the Council of Ephesus, there were Christian Bishops discharging their spiritual functions ; whereas, when Augustine landed in England, the greater part of it had fallen into heathenism, and without him it is alleged, there would have been no Church in this country ; and did not Pope Gregory, therefore, it is asked, obtain a patriarchal jurisdiction over England by giving it what is called the *grace of Holy Orders* ?

A. The *grace* of Holy Orders, like all other spiritual grace, is not to be dispensed for private advantage ; "*gratis datur, quia gratia vocatur*¹ ;" "*gratis accepistis, gratis date.*" It might also first be inquired, *whether* Augustine used all proper means to enter into² and maintain communion with the existing *British* Bishops. Next it may be asked, *whether*, on the ground of a mere ceremonial difference concerning the time of observing Easter, and one or two similar matters, (such as had *not* interrupted the communion of

Luke xix.

45.

Acts viii. 18

—20.

St. Polycarp³ and Pope Anicetus, and concerning CHAP. III. which St. Irenæus⁴, in his letter to Pope Victor, had left both a warning and a rule,) he ought to have stood apart from them, and required a change of their customs as a condition of communion with Rome; and lastly, it may well be doubted whether, because the British Bishops were unwilling to renounce obedience to their own Primate⁵, and to swear allegiance to the Bishop of Rome, the rights of these native Bishops and of the British Church ought to have been set at nought by him, and sacrificed. But even *on the supposition* that Augustine proceeded *regularly* in all this, yet the ordination of Augustine, and of those who were ordained by him, gave to the Bishop of Rome no patriarchal jurisdiction over the country in which Augustine was *received*.

¹ S. AUG. Tract. v. in S. Joan.

S. AMBROSE in S. Luc. xix. 40.

² Augustine's conference with the British Bishops did not take place till near the *close* of his mission and life; and this, Bede says, was *adjutorio Regis Ethelberti*, lib. ii. 1.—Sir H. SPELMAN, in WILKINS' Concilia, i. 26, animadverts on the proceedings of Augustine in his intercourse with the British Bishops.

MASON, F. *Vindiciæ Eccl. Angl.* lib. ii. cap. 5, says, Augustinus ipse nisi superbo et elato fuisset animo rogasset ut suam in prædicando Anglis operam Britanni unà collocarent, non etiam ut sibi et domino suo obtemperarent: and again, Quicquid in Augustino resplendet boni, illud amplectimur atque laudamus; quicquid vero in eo reperitur mali, in ipsâ radice flaccescat. Sanctum paganos convertendi desiderium, et pia in Principem desideria, aureis literis inscribi merentur; at, ut cæremoniæ quas intulit redundantiam et nimiam fimbriæ pontificiæ dilationem silentio præteream, negari non potest quin erga Britannos superbè se gesserit atque superciliosè.

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³ EVANS, *Biography of the Early Church*, London, 1837, p. 81. The Churches of Asia differed from the Western Churches with respect to the day of termination of the fast which introduced the festival of Easter. Each side claimed apostolical authority for their usage—the former that of St. John, the latter of their predecessors. This difference, which, within forty years after, very nearly produced a schism in the Church (under Pope Victor, who excommunicated the *Quartodecimani*), broke no bonds of love between Polycarp and the Roman Bishop Anicetus, the heads of the two parties at this day. So far from it, they partook together of the body and blood of the Lord; thus signifying, in the most solemn and distinct manner, their essential unity in the same body, and displaying their unfeigned love. In this rite, too, Anicetus showed his deep sense of the character and services of his illustrious guest, by conceding to him, in his own Church, the post of consecrating the elements of the Eucharist. Here was indeed a proof of spiritual unity.

⁴ EVANS, p. 263. St. Irenæus stepped forward to check Victor's violent proceedings, and the successor of Anicetus was obliged to bear a rebuke from the successor of Polycarp. Nor did Irenæus address Victor only, but also the rest of the Bishops on the same side as Victor himself had done: on this Victor was obliged to retire from his bold position.

⁵ See above, note ³ to the last question.

MASON, *Vindiciæ Eccl. Anglic.* ii. 5. Ne Augustini jugo Britanni colla sua subderent, causa erat justissima; ne scilicet Archiepiscopi Menevensis auctoritatem minuerent, quod per Canonem Nicænum, (Canon vi.) quo cautum est ut suis privilegia serventur Ecclesiis, not licuit.

Q. You say that the ordination of St. Augustine gave the Bishop of Rome no jurisdiction over England; explain the grounds on which this assertion rests.

A. It is one thing to give a *power*, and another thing to give the *privileges*, which may accrue, by the will of a *third independent* party, to the recipient

of that power. Gregory *had*, indeed, the power to *ordain* Augustine a Bishop, (though, be it remembered, Augustine was not consecrated by Gregory at Rome, but by the Archbishop of Arles, in Gaul¹;) but he had no power to *place* Augustine at Canterbury as *Metropolitan* and *Patriarch* of England, and to give him Jurisdiction as such over its Bishops and Clergy.

¹ BEDE, Hist. i. 27.

Q. To whom, then, did this power of *placing* belong?

A. As has been before said, (part i. chap. xii. p. 116,) no ecclesiastical power can interpose in the management of affairs in the territory of a Prince *without his consent*; and in Christian kingdoms and states, the *placing* of Bishops as Diocesans, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs, depends on the permission of the sovereign power of the country¹; thus even Pope Gregory himself, as he himself declares², could not have become Bishop of Rome and Metropolitan of the suburbicarian Churches, without the consent of the Roman Emperor Maurice; and, again, in the words also of Gregory³ himself, "Kings have from God supreme power over *all* their subjects." It was no more in Pope Gregory's power to *place* Augustine at Canterbury as *Metropolitan* in England, than it was in King Ethelbert's to have *made* Augustine a *Bishop* of the Church. Ethelbert did not lose any of his royalties by becoming a Christian king, (for Christianity gives new rights, but does not take away old ones⁴;) and Augustine became an English subject by being *received* and *placed* on English ground.

See below,
Pt. iii.
ch. vii.

¹ BARROW, Pope's Supremacy, p. 228. It is notorious that

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most princes in the West, in Germany, France, and England, did *invest* Bishops till the time of Gregory VII. See also BURKE, quoted in Eccl. Biog. i. 34.

² S. GREGORIUS, tom. ii. lib. i. Indictione ix. Epist. v. p. 492. Paris, 1705. Sed mihi hæc difficilia sunt, quia et valde onerosa : et quod mens voluntariè non recepit, congruè non disponit. *Ecce serenissimus Dominus Imperator fieri simiam leonem jussit.* Et quidem pro jussione illius vocari leo potest, fieri autem leo non potest. Unde necesse est, ut omnes culpas ac negligentias meas non mihi, sed suæ pietati deputet, qui virtutis *ministerium infirmo commisit.*

VITA S. GREGORII, Opera, Paris, 1705, ed. Benedict. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 216. Nonnullorum quoque mentem haud dubiè pulsabit, quod narrat laudatus scriptor, de petito et *expectato Imperatoris consensu, antequam Gregorius electus ordinaretur.* Neque verò Gregorius, qui sacrum *sibi ministerium ab Imperatore commissum agnoscit*, hunc morem usquam damnare visus est, aut improbasse.—Restituto in Occidente Imperio, Carolus Magnus ejusque posterì, hoc jure confirmandi summi Pontificis, nullo repugnante, potiti sunt, ut ex Anastasio Ecclesiæ Romanæ Bibliothecario, et ex aliis passim non iniquis erga sedem Apostolicam scriptoribus constat.—So Gregory IV., A.D. 820, could not become Pope without the Emperor's consent. Cp. Abp. DE MARCA, de Concordiâ, viii. 14 ; and JUS CANONICUM, p. 204—8, ed. Richter, Lips. 1839.

³ S. GREGOR. Epist. iii. 65. Potestas super omnes homines Dominorum meorum (Imperatorum) pietati *cœlitus* data est. *Ego indignus famulus vester.* ⁴ HOOKER, VIII. vi. 13.

Q. And does Augustine in fact also appear to have been *placed* in England by King Ethelbert, and *not* by the Bishop of Rome ?

A. Yes, certainly. Ethelbert gave him permission¹ to land, and to preach in his realm. Even his place at *Canterbury* is a proof of the exercise of the royal power : for *Ethelbert* placed him at *Canterbury* (as being the *civil Metropolis* of his kingdom) and *not* at *London*², which *Gregory* had

desired; and Ethelbert endowed the Cathedral Churches of Canterbury, London, and Rochester, which were the only Episcopal Sees founded or restored in England in the life of Augustine.

¹ BEDE, ii. 1. Ut Augustinus in urbe Regis sedem Episcopatus *acceperit*.—i. 25. *Rex Edelberthus* in Cantio potentissimus, qui ad confinium usque Humbri fluminis maximi fines imperii tetenderat . . . *dedit* eis mansionem in civitate Dorovernensi (i. e. *Canterbury*), quæ imperii sui totius erat metropolis. *Et* locum sedis in Doroverniâ metropoli suâ *donavit*.—Similarly, ii. 3. *Rex Edelberthus* fecit in civitate Londiniâ Ecclesiam sancti Pauli Apostoli, in quâ *locum* sedis Episcopalis Mellitus et successores ejus haberent.—Similarly, at Rochester, *Rex Edelbertus* Ecclesiam B. Andreæ Apostoli fecit, qui etiam Episcopis utriusque hujus Ecclesiæ dona multa, sicut et Doroverniensis, *obtulit*, sed et *territoria* ac *possessiones* in usum eorum qui erant cum Episcopis adjecit. No other sees were founded in Augustine's lifetime but these three, viz. Canterbury, London, Rochester; and from a comparison of Bede's account with Gregory's letter (quoted in the next note) it will appear that the *placing* and *endowment* of the English Bishops was the work, not of Gregory, but of Ethelbert, acting in this respect independently of him, and indeed not consistently with his plans for the ordering of the *external* polity of the Church. Cp. Bp. STILLINGFLEET on the True Antiquity of London, p. 550, and CODEX Diplomat. Anglo-Saxonum, p. i. sq.

Bp. BILSON, on Christian Subjection, p. 57. They that came (with S. Austin from Gregory) would not enter this land, nor preach there without the king's express licence.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 132. When Austin first arrived in England, he stayed in the Isle of Thanet until he knew the king's pleasure; and offered not to preach in Kent, until he had the king's licence for him and his followers to preach throughout his dominions. (Bed. Hist. i. 25, 26.) So not only their *jurisdiction*, but even the *exercise* of their pastoral function within that realm was by the king's leave and authority. See vol. ii. p. 133.

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² S. GREGOR. lib. xi. p. 1163. ep. lxxv. (to Augustine.)

Per loca *singula duodecim Episcopos* ordines, qui tuæ* ditioni subjaceant: quatenus *Londoniensis* civitatis Episcopus semper in posterum à Synodo propriâ debeat consecrari, atque honoris Pallium ab hac sanctâ et apostolicâ, cui auctore Deo deservio, sede percipiat, ad Eboracam verò civitatem te volumus Episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris ordinandum; ita ut si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque *duodecim Episcopos* ordinet, et Metropolitani honore perfruatur: quia ei quoque, si vita comes fuerit, Pallium tribuere Domino favente disponimus, quem tamen tuæ Fraternitatis volumus dispositioni subjacere. Post obitum verò tuum ita Episcopis quos ordinaverit præsit, ut *Londoniensis* Episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat. Sit verò inter *Londoniæ* et *Eboracæ* civitatis Episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur qui priùs fuerit ordinatus.

The reader will have observed, that it appears from the above passage that, according to the plan there specified, there were to be *twenty-four* sees erected in *England*; and there already existed *eight* sees in *Wales* at this time; so that the number of Bishops in England and Wales, in A. D. 600, was to be *thirty-two*. See also BINGHAM, above, p. 154.

MASON, de Ministerio, iv. c. xvi.

Q. You therefore consider St. Augustine and

* On which Alteserra, the Canonist of Toulouse, thus writes: *Anglis recens conversis ad fidem, prædicante Augustino et sociis, Gregorius duas metropolitanas sedes constituit in Britannia, unam Londini, alteram Eboraci: ita ut per singulas metropoles ordinarentur duodecim episcopi: de quo Beda, lib. i. cap. 29. Sed postquam Cantuaria, quæ erat caput regni Cantû et sedes regia, ab Ethelberto Rege concessa est Augustino, qui sedem sibi et successoribus suis hic locavit, ibique diem obiit et sepultus est—, Metropolitana dignitas, quæ a Gregorio statuta fuerat Londini, Cantuariam translata est, ut patet ex Kenulfi Regis Merciorum ad Leon. III. Pontificem, quæ est apud Wilhelmum Malmsbur. de Regum Angliæ Gestis, lib. i. cap. 4.*

his successors as occupying the place and as inheriting the rights of the ancient *Metropolitans* and *Patriarchs* of England, and succeeding to the privileges secured to them by the canons of the Church? CHAP. III.

A. Yes¹, so far as was allowed by the sovereign power; and since it cannot be pleaded that any act of a General or Provincial Council canonically done with the sovereign's consent has ever placed Britain in the *patriarchate* of *Rome*, in which it never was *before* the landing of Augustine, the Bishop of Rome's subsequent usurpation of the metropolitan and patriarchal rights of the English Primate, is an invasion of the *Royal Prerogative*, and an infraction of the *Canons* of the *Universal Church*², and a violation of the precept of *Scripture* concerning the removal of a neighbour's land-mark. Deut. xxvii. 17.

¹ Vita S. Augustini Archiepiscopi (vid. Lanfranci Opera, Venet. 1745. p. 329). Augustinus, transfretato æquore, (after his consecration at Arles,) accepto Apostolatu à DOMINO *primarium* Anglicæ genti retulit *Patriarchatum* et *Patriarchale* patrocinium.

² Not only of those of the Council of Ephesus, but of those which, like the 'Decreta Nicaena, Clericos et Episcopos suis Metropolitanis apertissimè commiserunt.' Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Cœlestin. Conc. Constant. can. 2. 4. 6. Chalced. c. 8. 17. Milev. c. 22.

Q. And therefore the Patriarch of Rome cannot claim jurisdiction over the Patriarch of England on the alleged ground of the mission and ordination of St. Augustine or any other?

A. No; all Patriarchs are independent of each other (p. 114); and with respect to this plea of ordination, the Bishop of Rome might as well See above, p. 163, 164.

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claim jurisdiction over the Patriarch of Alexandria, and over the Bishops and Clergy of his patriarchate, on the ground of St. Mark, the first Bishop of Alexandria, having been sent into Egypt by St. Peter, as over the Patriarch of England¹, (and such the Archbishop of Canterbury was acknowledged by Pope Urban II. to be,) and over his patriarchate on the ground of the mission of Augustine by Gregory.

¹ Sir R. TWISDEN, p. 18. After the erection of Canterbury into an archbishopric, the Bishop of that see was held *quasi alterius orbis Papa*, as Urban II. styled him (Wil. Malmes. de Gestis Pont. Angl. i. Eadmer, ii. p. 52); and is, therefore, called frequently in our writers Princeps Episcoporum Angliæ, Pontifex summus, Patriarcha Primas, and his seat *Cathedra Patriarchatus Anglorum*. See above, Abp. LAUD, chap. ii. p. 159.

Q. In speaking thus, you do not mean to disparage the labours of St. Gregory and St. Augustine in propagating Christianity in England?

A. By no means. In that holy and blessed work of religion let God first be praised for putting it into the hearts of its various agents to do what they did; let a grateful remembrance be preserved of Gregory the Great for sending St. Augustine, and of St. Augustine for coming into England; of Queen¹ Bertha for assisting and encouraging, and of King Ethelbert for receiving, protecting, and maintaining him, and of establishing him and his followers, and their successors in this country, by the building and endowment of Cathedral Churches. But we may not suppose that we can show our gratitude to Augustine, or

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 6.

to Gregory, and above all to Almighty God, by CHAP. IV.
disparaging the prerogatives of Ethelbert and his
successors, and by doing injury to the rights of
the lawful Sovereign Princes whom God has set
over us, and of the Church which is our spiritual
Mother in Jesus Christ.

¹ Gregory himself, in his Epistles, compares King Ethelbert to Constantine, and Queen Bertha to Helena, on account of their pious munificence to the English Church. See Vita S. Augustini, l. c. pp. 330, 331.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND INDEPENDENT OF ROME.

Period between the Mission of St. Augustine and the Reformation.

Q. EVEN on the supposition that the Bishops of Rome *had* possessed a patriarchal jurisdiction in England before or during the papacy of Gregory, could they have had any such power after it?

A. No. As was before said, *that part* of England, which was converted by Augustine and his companions, relapsed into Paganism a few years after his decease; and not only that part, but a very large portion of the whole country was Christianized in the seventh century, by *Scottish* and *Saxon* Missionaries, under AIDAN of Lindisfern, and the Bishops and Priests (St. Chad, his brother

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Cedda, Finan, Diuma,) connected with him, who were *entirely independent of Rome*¹. But, further, a year and a half after the death of Gregory, Boniface III. occupied the papal chair, and by his assumption of the anti-scriptural and anti-catholic title (condemned as such by Gregory his predecessor²) of *Universal Bishop*, by which he violated the Unity of the Church; he forfeited³ the name and jurisdiction of *Patriarch*; as one of the greatest of the Popes⁴ says, *Propria perdit qui indebita concupiscit*.

¹ FULLER, Ch. Hist. book ii. cent. vii., and see the authorities in HEATH'S Brief Account, p. 18, who observes that "Aidan had little suspicion that a Bishop not in the Patriarchate of Rome *could* be considered a schismatic solely for preserving the independence of his character: he had not so read the decrees of Ephesus."

² See below, part ii. chap. ix.

³ Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 260—263. F. MASON, Vind. Eccl. Angl. pp. 536—541.

⁴ Pope LEO I. Epist. 54.

Q. But *after* this time did not the Bishops of Rome *in fact* exercise a patriarchal jurisdiction over the British Metropolitans, by sending them their *Pallium*, or archiepiscopal *pall*, at their consecration?

A. Unhappily after the age of Gregory there was a maxim in Romish state-policy¹, *Da, ut habeas, Give*, in order that you may *have*. The pall was at first a badge given by the *Emperors* to Patriarchs²; when it came to be *given* by Popes, it was, for some time, nothing but a *symbolum fraternitatis*—a mark of communion with Rome: it was no necessary part of the archiepiscopal dignity, and many archbishops never had it³. At length, however, it was *imposed* by Rome as

essential to them, about A.D. 1235⁴, and was sold⁵ CHAP. IV.
for vast sums of money.

¹ Sir ROGER TWISDEN'S Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, 1675, p. 176.

² HAMMOND'S Works, ii. p. 97, folio, ed. 1684. The Pall was an honorary ornament, which the *Emperors* first gave to the Patriarchs, and the Patriarchs sent to Archbishops and Metropolitans, and was then far from being a sign of *subjection* to him that sends it. BRAMHALL, i. 193.

The following are the testimonies of *Romanists* concerning the Pallium :—Abp. De MARCA, de Concordiâ, vi. c. 6. (p. 332.) *Pallium* antiquitus fuit genus quoddam *imperatorii* indumenti, cujus usum *Imperatores* permisere Patriarchis, a quibus dein communicatum est cum Metropolitans, sed non absque *Imperatorum consensu*.—P. 331. Optabant olim Pontifices (Romani) ut Metropolitani aliquod confirmationis genus a sede Apostolicâ acciperent. Verum, quia *ubique receptum* erat *consecrationes fieri posse extra Italiam absque eorum consensu*, vim ei legi palam afferre noluerunt; sed Metropolitanos rei cujusdam *novæ* miraculo veluti obstupefecerunt, quæ in initio magnifica, paulatim tamen earum libertatem per cuniculos infregit et synodorum provincialium auctoritatem pessumdedit. De *Palli* usu loquor.

DU PIN, de Antiq. Eccles. Discipl. i. § 12. p. 53. Succedente vero tempore, pontifices Romani ordinandorum per universum occidentem Episcoporum potestatem non sine multâ contradictione sibi vindicavere, et omnium Metropolitanorum jura paulatim pessumdederunt.

Primum quidem Metropolitica ordinationum jura ad se trahere conati sunt per concessionem *palli*; eò enim dabatur a pontificibus, ut possent plena auctoritate suæ provinciæ Episcopos ordinare: unde sequebatur hanc potestatem a Pontifice Metropolitanis simul cum pallio concedi. Hinc postea novo jure Metropolitanis interdictum est universis functionibus episcopalibus, donec pallium recepissent, *juramentumque fidei introductum est*.

See further the definition of the *Pallium* in Bp. GIBSON'S Codex, p. 105, note.

³ TWISDEN, pp. 43, 44. After Paulinus, five in the cata-

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logue of York are said expressly to have wanted it (the Pallium), yet are reputed both archbishops and saints.

⁴ TWISDEN, p. 47.

⁵ TWISDEN, p. 45.

Q. Did not those Metropolitans then take an Oath of Canonical Obedience to the see of Rome?

A. No. The Oath of Bishops at Consecration, to whomsoever it was taken, was anciently nothing more than a *Profession of Faith*¹; and any other oath than this was *prohibited* by the eighth General Council (A.D. 870)¹: nor was any *oath* imposed *with* the Pall before the year A.D. 1115; and the oath of canonical obedience, when it *came* to be taken to the Pope, even under Gregory VII., Hildebrand (A.D. 1073—1085), obliged a Bishop to observe the *Regulas Sanctorum Patrum*², and not, as these words were afterwards *transformed*, to maintain the *Regalia Sancti Petri*; and the Oath *now* taken³ is not three hundred years old; it dates only from the Pontificate of Clement VIII. (A.D. 1592—1605.)

¹ CONCIL. CONSTANT. iv. tom. viii. p. 1131, Labbe. Visum est sanctæ huic et Universali Synodo nequaquam id ex hoc a quopiam fieri excepto eo quod, secundum formam et consuetudinem, pro *sincerâ fide* nostrâ, tempore *consecrationis Episcoporum* exigitur, quod enim *aliter* fit omninò non expedit, sed neque ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ pertinet. Quisquis ergo *ausus* fuerit solvere hanc definitionem nostram, aut expetierit aut paruerit expetentibus, *honore proprio decidat*.

The following are corroborating testimonies from *Romanist* writers:—Archbp. de MARCA, de Concordiâ, vi. c. 7. Res eo devenit ut coacti sint Europæ Metropolitani scripto polliceri subjectionem et obedientiam Apostolicæ Sedi. *Novi* hujus juris repertor erat Bonifacius Moguntinus in Synodo ab eo celebratâ anno 742. Gregorius VII. formulam auxit quibusdam clausis quæ illam obedientiæ sponsonem prorsus convertunt in *juramentum fidelitatis* quod *vassallus domino suo* præstare tenetur. Adeo autem *principum jura* violavit hæc

formula, ut Gregorius *prohibuerit* ne quis Episcopus *homagium regibus* præstaret, quod a successoribus ejus Urbano II. et Paschali II. confirmatum est. Attamen Gregorius potuit animadvertere *canonem octavum octavæ synodi* (A.D. 870) prohibere ne Patriarchæ ab Episcopis aliam sponsionem exigerent quam eam quæ fieri consueverat, nimirum illos *veram fidem* servaturos.

Father WALSH, Defence of Church of Rome, sect. 25. In the beginning there was no such oath or any other, nor any promise of fidelity or obedience made by the Bishops to the Pope, but only a bare *profession of the common faith*, even such as he also made to them by his encyclical letters: and afterwards, when promises began, they were *only* of *canonical obedience* in general terms.

Dr. O'CONNOR, Columbanus 3. 159. Even those Bishops who were consecrated by the Pope himself, swore no other oath than that they would, to the best of their power, maintain the *Catholic religion* in their dioceses.

See also, DIGEST of the Evidence, &c. &c. concerning Ireland. London, 1826. Part ii. chap. i. p. 2, note *a*.

² These were the terms of the oath even under Gregory VII. A.D. 1079. Concerning the *changes* in its terms, see BARROW, Pope's Supremacy, xiv. TWISDEN, p. 46.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 148, and note. During the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the Popes sometimes invaded this undoubted right of our kings, *de facto*, not *de jure*; and tendered to the Bishops, at their investitures, another oath, at first modest and innocent enough, that they should observe *Regulas Sanctorum Patrum*; but after they altered the oath, changing it into *Regalia Sancti Petri*, that they should maintain the *royalties of St. Peter*. Bp. GIBSON, Codex, p. 117.

³ VAN ESPEN, Jus Ecclesiast. I. xv. ii. 8.

Q. But was not the pall received by English Archbishops, and the oath to maintain the *Regalia Sancti Petri* taken by English Bishops, from the beginning of the twelfth century?

A. Yes; that oath was framed by Pope Paschalis II. (1099—1118) and imposed by him, to

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the great *astonishment*¹ of Kings, Nobles, and Ecclesiastics, on Archbishops, and afterwards by Gregory IX. (1227—1241) on Bishops. But neither could the pall be lawfully received from a foreign prelate under conditions of allegiance to him, nor an oath of obedience taken to him by any subject *without* the consent of his Prince, and much *less* so *against* it; for it is essential to the goodness of an oath, that it should be *in possibilibus et licitis*², or, as the Holy Scripture expresses it, *in veritate, judicio et justitiâ*. And further, as the papal decretals³ themselves declare, *non valet juramentum in præjudicium juris superioris*⁴. Hence when an English Bishop had received the pall, and taken the oath, King William II. declared that he would banish him from England, if he violated his allegiance to the Crown under plea of compliance with the oath⁵.

Jer. iv. 2.
Num. xxx.
2—10.
1 Sam. xiv.
28. 45. xxv.
33.
Mark vi. 23.
Acts xxiii.
12.

¹ JUS CANON. Decret. Greg. IX. De Elect. c. 4. Significasti, (says Pope Paschalis to the Abp. of Palermo, which *was even* in the Roman Patriarchate; see above, p. 110,) *reges et regni majores admiratione permotos quod pallium tibi ab apocrisariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit si sacramentum quod a nobis scriptum detulerant exhiberes*. See also BARON. Anno 1102. MASON, Vind. Ecc. Angl. iv. 16. p. 539.

² Bp. ANDREWES on the Decalogue, p. 245.

S. HIERON. in Jerem. iv. 2. Animadvertendum quod jurandum hos habet comites, *Veritatem, Judicium atque Justitiam*; si ista defuerint, nequaquam erit juramentum, sed perjurium.

ART. XXXIX. A man may swear, when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's (Jerem. iv. 2.) teaching, *in Justice, Judgment, and Truth*.

HOMILIES, p. 77, ed. 1822, Oxon. "Whosoever maketh any promise, binding himself thereunto by an oath, let him

foresee that the thing he promiseth be good and honest, and not against the commandment of God, and that it be in his *own power* to perform it justly ; and such promises must men keep evermore assuredly. But if a man at any time shall, either of ignorance or of malice, promise and swear to do any thing, which is either against the law of Almighty God, or not in his power to perform, let him take it for an unlawful and ungodly oath." Of an unlawful oath the same Homily declares in the case of *Herod*, "that as he took a wicked oath, so he more wickedly performed the same." Upon these determinations of the Church, the *Abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant*, "as an unlawful oath, and imposed on the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom," was required in the Act of Uniformity, A.D. 1661, 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

² DECRETAL. ii. xxiv. 4.

⁴ Compare Bp. SANDERSON's *Prælectiones de Juramenti Obligatione*, ii. p. 31. *Rei illicitæ Nulla Obligatio*, p. 66. *Juramentum ejus qui sub alterius potestate est absque illius consensu nec licitum neque obligatorium*. See also *Prælect. vii. p. 140*.

⁵ MATTH. PARIS, in Guil. Ruf. The King said, *neque Archiepiscopum neque Episcopum sui regni Papæ subesse*. Si juramento suscepto promitteret (Anselmus) se neque Apostolorum limina visitaturum, nec Romanæ sedis audientiam appellaturum, rebus suis frueretur. Si secus faciat, *exilium perpetuum ei denunciat*.

Q. But the Pall being received, and the Oath taken, did not the Popes acquire a Patriarchal right in England by *practice*?

A. No; the Pope both *quitted* and *forfeited* whatever Patriarchal jurisdiction he possessed any where by his assumption of *Universal Supremacy* over the Church, and by his acts of tyranny, usurpation, exaction, and rebellion against Church Canons and lawful Sovereigns¹: and the *exercise* of such Patriarchal jurisdiction on his part was never acknowledged *in England*, but, on the con-

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trary, was resisted *by protests* continually made by the Kings of England, by the Church in her Synods, and by the State in Parliament. Besides, as it rested not on any sound basis of right², but, on the contrary, was destructive of the fundamental rights of the Crown and of the Church, (and *nullum tempus occurrit Regi aut Ecclesiæ*), and as Patriarchal authority depends on the consent of both, (see above, p. 114. 117, and below, p. 185,) it never could have acquired legal validity, for, as Pope Boniface the VIIIth³ says, *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*⁴.

¹ Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 261.

² Abbé FLEURY, iv. Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique. See below, chap. vii.

³ REGULÆ JURIS, xviii.

⁴ Sir R. TWISDEN thus emphatically concludes his examination of this subject . . . "I dare boldly say, that whoever will, without partiality, look back, will find that the reverence yielded by this Church of England to Rome, for more than 1000 years after Christ, was no other than the respect of love, not of duty."—p. 67.

Q. What evidence is there of opposition to the Papal encroachments?

A. Protests, such as have been mentioned, were made by Egfrid¹, King of Northumberland, and his successor King Alfrid, on occasion of the first great appeal to Rome; by King Edward the Confessor, by Henry the First, and succeeding sovereigns; and the same spirit which dictated these remonstrances, declared itself publicly and legislatively in the² *Constitutions of Clarendon*, A.D. 1164; and again, A.D. 1246; in the *Statute of Carlisle*, A.D. 1297; in the *Articles of the Clergy*, in the *Statutes of Provisors*, A.D. 1350, A.D. 1363,

and A.D. 1389; of *Mortmain* and of *Præmunire*, CHAP. IV.
 A.D. 1391-2; and, finally, in the Statutes of
 Henry VIII., from A.D. 1531 to A.D. 1543,
 which, in the opinion of the soundest English
 lawyers, were not *operative* but *declaratory* acts;
 that is, they were *no new* laws, but only vindicated
 and enforced *the old*³.

¹ TWISDEN, 29—37. Egfrid, styled by Bede *püssimus et Deo dilectissimus*, imprisoned Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, with the advice of his Bishops, for appealing to Rome, about A.D. 680. No papal legate came into England between A.D. 595 and A.D. 787. BRAMHALL, i. 37. 133. 136. 144. Bp. STILLINGFLEET, Eccles. Jurisd. p. 87—91.

² Constitutions of Clarendon on the Controversy between Henry II. and Becket. BRAMHALL, i. 136—143. ARTICULI CLERI, made at Lincoln 9 Edw. II. A.D. 1315.

Bp. GIBSON, Codex, p. 175. Elections of dignities of the Church to be free. BRAMHALL, i. 146. Concerning the Protest in A.D. 1246, see BRAMHALL, i. 194.

STATUTES for the CLERGY, 14 and 18 Edw. III. A.D. 1340, 1344.

THE STATUTES of PROVISOIRS, i.e. 'that the king and other lords shall present unto benefices of their own or their ancestors' foundation, and not the Bishop of Rome,' 25 Edw. III. A.D. 1350. GIBSON'S Codex, p. 65, and 38 Edw. III. A.D. 1363. Ibid. p. 69, and 13 Rich. II. 2. c. 2, A.D. 1389. Ibid. p. 71.

PRÆMUNIRE 'for suing in a foreign realm, or impeaching judgment given,' 27 Edw. III. c. 1; 'for purchasing of bulls from Rome; the Crown of England subject to none,' 16 Rich. II. c. 5. A.D. 1392, *ibid.* p. 73; against appeals to Rome, 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, *ibid.* p. 86.

FOR RESTRAINT of APPEALS to Rome, 'in all cases whatsoever, prohibited,' 24 Henry VIII. c. 12, A.D. 1532; *ibid.* p. 83; and 'to restore to the Crown its ancient jurisdiction,' *ibid.* p. 86; against payment of *annates* and first-fruits, 23 Henry VIII. p. 105. An act for taking away the burden of *Peter-pence*, and other papal exactions, 25 Henry VIII.

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c. 21, A.D. 1533; for taking away *dispensations*, 25 Henry VIII. c. 21, A.D. 1533, p. 87; against the Pope's *supremacy*, 26 Henry VIII. c. 1, A.D. 1534, *ibid.* p. 23; 35 Henry VIII. c. 3, A.D. 1543, 'for ratification of the *King's Majesty's style*,' *ibid.* p. 29.

Archbp. COURTENAY, Archbishop of Canterbury, (A.D. 1395,—Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 219,) and Primate of all England, made protestation in open Parliament, "that the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or intermeddle as to presentations to any ecclesiastical dignity recovered in the king's courts. That the said holy father ought not to make translations to any bishopric within the realm without the king's leave; for that this practice tended to the destruction of the Realm and Crown of England, which had always been free, and subject to no earthly power, but to God only, as to regalities, and no other." See *ibidem*, p. 257. The Crown of the kingdom of England, and the rights of the said Crown, and the kingdom itself, have in all time past been so free, that our Lord the Pope, nor any other without the kingdom, ought to concern himself about the same.

³ As Lord Chief Justice COKE and others. See Abp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 151, and Bp. GIBSON's Codex, p. 42.

Q. Supposing that no such protests had been made, could the Bishop of Rome have *acquired* ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England, so that it should be his indefeasibly?

A. No, he could not. The Sovereigns of England are, *jure divino*, the LORD's Vicegerents in that country; and it is their "Prerogative to rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal," and to see that all persons, ecclesiastical¹ and civil, do their duty; and Kings cannot execute this function, unless they have *supreme* authority in causes ecclesiastical. It is indisputable that *Patriarchal* jurisdiction is purely a matter of *human law*, and liable to be *altered*, according to

the circumstances of countries and of times². And as the Christian Emperors, with advice of their Synods, *transferred* Pontus and Asia to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which they had created; as in England the Primacy had been transferred³, in the reign of King Arthur, A.D. 516, from Caerleon to Llandaff, A.D. 512, thence in the reign of King Arthur, A.D. 516, to St. David's, and thence by Henry the First to Canterbury; so, even *if* England had ever been legally and canonically in the Patriarchate of Rome, *which it never was*, the Kings of England, in a Church Synod, might have *transferred* their kingdom from it to some other Patriarchate⁴; and much more they ought to maintain it in its reasonable, undoubted, ancient, and primitive ecclesiastical relation both of right and duty to a Patriarch of their own Realm of England⁵.

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxvii. See below, part iii. chapters ii. iii. iv. v., and above, part i. ch. xii. p. 114—116.

LEGES EDVARDI CONFESSORIS, c. xvii. Rex, quia Vicarius Summi REGIS est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum et populum Domini et super omnia sanctam veneretur Ecclesiam Ejus et regat et ab injuriosis defendat.

Ibid. Debet Rex Sanctam Ecclesiam regni sui cum omni integritate et libertate juxta constitutiones Patrum et Prædecessorum servare, fovere, manu tenere, regere.

² Abp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 162, note; i. 178. 260—264; ii. pp. 303—305; and above, p. 114—117.

³ MASON, Vind. Eccl. Angl. iv. 16. Qui *jure humano* niti non vult nobis patriarcha esse non potest; cum patriarchatus sit *juris humani*. See also BARROW, above, p. 116, and HAMMOND in following note, and Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 260—264; ii. 303—305.

⁴ HAMMOND on Schism, i. p. 520. "It is and always hath been in the power of Christian Emperors and Princes, within

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their own dominions, to erect patriarchates, or to translate them from one city to another; and therefore" (even on the supposition that the Pope had acquired any title on the first planting of the Gospel here) "the Kings of England *may freely remove* that power from Rome to Canterbury, and subject all the Christians of this Island to the spiritual power of that Archbishop or Primate."—p. 522. And this power, vested in the Regal Power, *cannot* be taken away by foreign laws, nor be *alienated by prescription*.

⁵ HAMMOND, Works, ii. 28. 119. 126. 132. BRAMHALL, i. 178.

Q. But did not King Stephen, and more fully King Henry the Second, concede the right of Appeal to Rome; and did not the latter resign his right of Investiture of Bishops to the Pope; and did not King John give up to him the civil and ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown?

A. Whether they did or no, matters little¹; for Kings have their kingdoms from God to *rule*, and not to *give away*; and *nihil potest Rex nisi quod jure potest*. As Lord Chancellor Clarendon² says, "The King hath no power to release a single grain of the allegiance which is due to him as such." Therefore those acts, whatever they were, were of no validity whatsoever³.

¹ Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 188. The answer of Sir Thomas More (himself a Romanist) is beyond all exception, that if either King Henry II. or King John had done such a thing it was not worth a rush, nor signified any thing but the greediness of the Popes.

² See the authorities quoted in the note in Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. i. pp. 23—25, ed. 1839.

GERHARD, de Magistratu Politico, vi. p. 513. Princeps non diminuere debet imperium sed augere. § 2, Proœm. Inst. Jur. Nec potest Regalia in præjudicium successorum alienare. HAMMOND, vol. ii. p. 133. The King cannot alienate his Regality.

³ The following will show the *national* recorded opinion and judgment of this transaction : PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY, vol. i. p. 130. His majesty (King Edward III.) had lately received notice that the Pope, in consideration of the homage which John, king of England, had formerly paid to the see of Rome, intended by process to cite his majesty to appear at his court at Avignon, to answer for his defaults, in not performing what the said king, his predecessor, had so undertaken for him and his heirs, kings of England. Whereupon the king required the advice of his parliament what course he had best take if any such process should come out against him. The Bishops, Lords, and Commons, desired until the following day to give in their answer, when they declared as follows, 'That neither King John, nor any other king, *could* bring himself, his realm and people, under such subjection without their assent ; and *if* it was done, it was without consent of parliament, and contrary to his Coronation Oath : that he was notoriously compelled to it by the necessity of his affairs and the iniquity of the times ; wherefore the said Estates *enacted*, that in case the Pope should attempt any thing by process or any other way, to constrain the king and his subjects to perform what he says he lays claim to in this respect, they would *resist and withstand him to the utmost of their power*.' CHAP. IV.

Q. But was not the English Reformation brought about by Henry VIII. to gratify his own evil passions ; and was it not attended with corrupt and sacrilegious practices ?

A. *We* might ask in reply, "Is not the Papal Supremacy due to the Emperor Phocas, a murderer¹ ?" But, admitting, for argument's sake, all that has been said against King Henry VIII. by the adversaries of the Reformation ; admitting also, that he was a leading agent in effecting it ; still the workman is not the work. The Temple of Solomon was constructed with cedars of Lebanon hewn by workmen of *heathen* Tyre. Jehu did not please God ; but his Reformation

¹ Kings v. 6.

² Chron. ii.

8.

² Kings x.

30, 31.

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Dan. iii.
1—29.
Esther ix.
92.

did. Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus were idolatrous; but their Edicts for God's service were religious. The Temple in which our Lord was presented, and in which He preached and worshipped, had been repaired and restored by the impious and cruel Herod, who sought our Lord's life. And so with respect to the charge of sacrilege, we are not careful to defend the character and conduct of *all* those who had any part in the Reformation; but we bless God for His own work, and for many of the instruments He raised up for it, and for overruling and directing others to His own glory in the good of His Church².

¹ PLATINA, de Vitis Pontificum, in Bonifac. III. below p. 248.

² Abp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 123.

Q. What is the conclusion from the arguments against the Pope's exercise of any Patriarchal jurisdiction in England?

A. In the words of a learned English Bishop¹, "By God's law, the Pope of Rome hath no such jurisdiction; for six hundred years after Christ *he had none*; for the last six hundred years, as looking to greater matters, (i. e. to be Universal Bishop,) *he would have none*; above or against the Prince *he can have none*; to the subversion of the faith, or oppression of his brethren, *he ought² to have none*; therefore this land oweth him none."

¹ Bp. BILSON, True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion; pt. ii. p. 321. MASON, Vind. Eccl. Angl. p. 541.

² OATH of QUEEN'S Sovereignty and Supremacy, to be taken by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Ordinal of the Church of England,—I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or *ought to have*, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence,

or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this realm. CHAP. V.
So help me God.

XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxvii. The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates in this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain; and *is not, nor ought to be*, subject to *any foreign jurisdiction*.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

Bp. GARDINER, de Verâ Obedientiâ (in Brown, Fasciculus, pp. 812. 817). No foreign Bishop hath authority among us. . . . All sorts of people are agreed with us in this point, that *no manner* of persons bred or brought up in *England* hath *ought to do with Rome*.

ATTORNEY and SOLICITOR GENERAL's (R. Gifford and J. S. Copley) Reply to Letter of Right Hon. GEORGE CANNING, &c. We beg leave to state, that advisedly and wittingly to attribute by any speech, open deed, or act, any manner of jurisdiction, &c., to the *see of Rome*, or to *any Bishop* of the same, within this realm, subjects a party for the first offence to the penalties of *præmunire*, &c., and any answer to his letters (announcing his elevation to the pontificate) might be considered as bringing the party, being a subject, writing or advising it within the operation of the statute of 5 Eliz. c. i. § 2.—See PHILLIMORE's BURN's Eccl. Law, iii. 145, ed. 1842.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND A REMOVAL
 OF WHAT WAS NEW, AND A RESTORATION
 OF WHAT WAS OLD.

Q. Is it not sometimes said that the Church of England, as she now exists, arose at the Reformation, and is therefore a *new* Church, not more

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than 300 years old? How then can she be united *by origin* with the Catholic Church?

A. The language of the Church of England, when she reformed herself, was similar to that of the Fathers at the Nicene Council, in A.D. 325, ΤΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΘΗ ΚΡΑΤΕΙΤΩ, *Let the ancient customs prevail*¹.

¹ HAMMOND contr. Blondell, in Prælim. c. xiv. f. 13. Ecclesia Anglicana hoc se universo orbi caractere dignoscendum, hoc æquæ posteritati æstimandum proponit, quod in controversiis fidei aut praxeos decernendis, illud firmum ratumque semper habuerit, et huic basi Reformationem Britannicam niti voluerit, ut SCRIPTURIS primæ, dein primorum sæculorum *episcopis, martyribus, scriptoribus, ecclesiasticis secundæ* deferantur.

The following are the testimonies of three eminently learned *foreigners*, Isaac CASAUBON, Hugo GROTIUS, and Dr. Hadrian SARAVIA, to the *restorative* and *primitive* character of the Reformation in ENGLAND.

CASAUBON, ad Salmas. Epist. 837, p. 489. A.D. 1612. Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima est in ANGLIA, ubi cum studio Veritatis viget studium Antiquitatis. CASAUBON, Epist. ad Cardinal. Perron. p. 494. (See below, p. 199.) Parata est ECCLESIA ANGLICANA fidei suæ reddere rationem, et rebus ipsis evincere, auctoribus Reformationis hic institutæ non fuisse propositum, *novam aliquam* Ecclesiam condere, ut imperiti et malevoli calumniantur; sed quæ erant collapsa, ad formam revocare quam fieri posset optimam; optimam autem judicantur nascenti Ecclesiæ ab Apostolis traditam, et proximis seculis usurpatam.

HUGO GROTIUS, Epist. ad Boetselaer. (Ep. 62, p. 21, ed. 1687.) Certum est mihi λειτουργίαν ANGLICANAM, item morem imponendi manus adolescentibus in memoriam Baptismi, auctoritatem *Episcoporum* et Presbyteria ex solis Pastoribus composita, multa que alia ejusmodi satis congruere institutis *vetustioris Ecclesiæ*, a quibus in Galliâ et Belgio recessum negare non possumus. GROTIUS, Epist. ad Corvinum, Epist.

p. 434. Qui illam optimam antiquitatem sequuntur ducem CHAP. V.
iis non eveniet ut multum sibi ipsis sint discolores. In
ANGLIA vides quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum
repurgatio ; hac maxime de causâ, quod qui id sanctissimum
negotium procurandum susceperè, *nihil* admiserit *novi*, *nihil*
sui, sed ad *meliora secula* intentam habuere oculorum
aciem.

HADRIAN SARAVIA, cited by Dr. Puller, Moderation of the
Church of England, chap. xvi. p. 427. Among others that
have reformed their Churches, I have often (saith Saravia)
admired the wisdom of those who restored the true worship
of God to the Church of ENGLAND,—who so tempered them-
selves that they cannot be reproved for having departed from
the *ancient and primitive custom of the* Church of God ; and
that moderation they have used, that by their example they
have invited others to reform, and deterred none.

See also the references to the next question.

Q. But you say she *reformed* herself ; did she
not thus become a *new* Church ?

A. No. She reformed herself, because she loved
what was *old*, and did *not* love what was *new*¹.
As was before shown, (chap. i. ii. pp. 149 — 162.) she
was founded in the *Apostolic age* ; at the Reforma-
tion she *recovered* herself from the errors into
which in course of time she had fallen ; and she
proceeded in all this gradually and moderately,
lawfully² and wisely, with the joint deliberation
and co-operation of her Universities, her Clergy,
and the People of England in Parliament assem-
bled ; and finally, with the ratification of the
Crown. The *errors* of the English Church were *not*
the Church herself ; and in quitting them she did
not quit herself³, any more than a man *changes* his
skin when he *cleanses* it, or *loses* his identity when
he *recovers* from a disease. The English Church
after the Reformation was as much the English

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 2 Kings v.
 14.

Church, as Naaman was Naaman after he had washed in the river Jordan: indeed, as "*his flesh then came again,*" so was she *restored* to her *healthful* self at the Reformation. She might then have applied to herself the language of the Bishop of Carthage⁴, "*In quo nutaverit Veritas, ad Originem Dominicam et Evangelicam et Apostolicam Traditionem revertamur, et inde surgat actûs nostri Ratio unde et Ordo et Origo surrexit!*"

¹ CASAUBON, *Dedicat. Exerc. Baron.* p. 128, ed. 1709. Quâ fronte hæc *novationis* criminatio in Reformationis auctores aut assertores hodie confertur qui à centum fere jam annis hoc *unum* clamant, Reddite populis Christianis *Primam Fidem!* Reddite primitivæ Ecclesiæ *ritus*; desinite *nuper* inventa pro credendis necessario, et quidem sub anathemate, gregibus magni Pastoris obtrudere.—Volumus scire quæ sit vera fides: ea est, auctore Juda Apostolo, (v. 3,) quæ *semel* fuit tradita.

² Archbp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. 24. In the English Reformation our *Princes* had their parts, and the *Clergy* theirs; and to these two principally the power and direction for Reformation belong. That our Princes had their parts is manifest, by their calling together of the Bishops and other of the Clergy to consider of what might seem worthy of Reformation. And the Clergy did their part; for being then called together by Regal Power, they met in the National Synod of sixty-two, and the Articles then agreed on were afterwards confirmed by acts of state and the Royal assent.—And it is more than clear, that if the Roman Church will neither reform nor suffer reformation, it is lawful for any other particular Church to reform itself, so long as it doth it peaceably and orderly. See also Bp. PEARSON, *Minor Works*, ii. 293.

Archbp. WAKE, Letter to Dupin, Oct. 1, 1718, in Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* Appendix iii. No. v. Tandem defatigato regno dura necessitas sua jura tuendi oculos omnium aperuit. Proponitur quæstio *Episcopis* ac *Clero* in utriusque Provinciæ *Synodo* congregatis, an *Episcopus Romanus* in

Sacris Scripturis habeat aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus Episcopus? In partem sanam, justam, veram utriusque concilii suffragia concurrere. Quod Episcopi cum suo Clero statuerant, etiam regni *Academiæ* calculo suo approbarunt, *Rex* cum *Parlamento* sancivit: adeoque tandem, quod unice fieri poterat, sublata penitus potestas, quam nullæ leges, nulla jura, vel civilia vel ecclesiastica, intra debitos fines unquam poterant continere.

Siquam prærogativam Ecclesiæ concilia Sedis Imperialis Episcopo concesserint (etsi, cadente imperio, etiam ea prærogativa excidisse merito possit censi); tamen quod ad me attinet, servatis semper Regnorum juribus, Ecclesiarum libertatibus, Episcoporum dignitate, modo in cæteris conveniatur, per me licet, suo fruatur qualicunque primatu. At in alias ecclesias dominari; episcopatum, cujus partem Christus unicuique episcopo *in solidum* reliquit, tantum non in solidum sibi soli vindicare; siquis ejus injustæ tyrannidi sese opposuerit, cælum ac terram in illius perniciem commovere; hæc nec nos unquam ferre potuimus, nec vos debetis. In hoc pacis fundamento si inter nos semel conveniatur, in cæteris aut idem sentiemus omnes, aut facile alii aliis dissentiendi libertatem absque pacis jacturâ concedemus.

³ Bp. JEWELL, *Apology*, c. vi. in *Christian Institutes*, p. 352, and *ibid.* p. 312, and *note*. HOOKER, III. i. 10. As if we were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a *new Church* of CHRIST. Bp. HARSNETT, *Parl. Hist.* i. 1481. We fetch not our Reformation from Wickliffe, Huss, and Luther, of latter times, but from the first 400 years next after Christ. Bp. SANDERSON, *Pref. to Sermons*, § xv. Our godly forefathers had no purpose,—nor had they any warrant to *set up a new Religion*, but to *reform the old*. Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. 119. We do not arrogate to ourselves a new Church, a new Religion, or new Holy Orders. Our Religion is the same as it was, our Church the same, our Holy Orders the same, differing from what they were only as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded. Bp. BULL, ii. p. 205. We maintain that our Church, and the Pastors thereof, did always acknowledge the same Rule of Faith, the same fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, both *before* and *since* the *Reformation*; but with this difference, that we *then* pro-

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fessed the Rule of Faith, with the additional corruptions of the Church of Rome, but *now*, God be thanked, without them.

⁴ St. CYPRIAN, Ep. 74.

Q. But since then the English Church was, as you affirm, *restored at the Reformation*, can we say that she could have been properly called a *Church* while she was infected with so many Papal corruptions as she was *before it*?

A. Yes; under Popery she was a Church, though an *erring* one. The Israelitish Church still remained a Church even under Ahab; the Jewish Church still existed under the Pharisees; the Scribes sat in Moses' seat, and were to be obeyed in all things lawful and indifferent. Jerusalem was "the Holy City," though its rulers did not receive Christ. The Christian Church existed still, when the "world groaned that it had become *Arian*¹." The ark of God was still the ark of God, even when in the hands of the Philistines; and the vessels of the Temple were holy, even at Babylon. So the Church of England, though she had fallen from her former purity, was still a Church while under the Pope². If she was *not* a Church then, we admit that she *is no Church now*; and we would then allow that she was *founded* at the Reformation, that is, that she was the work of *men*, and not of *God*; that she sprang from *earth*, and not from *heaven*; that she is a *new* Church, and therefore *no* Church. But no; we believe her to have been a *true* Church, and (*corruptions excepted*) the *same* Church, *before* Papal times, *in* them, and *after* them.

¹ S. HIERON. adv. Lucif. c. 7. Ingenuit totus Orbis, et Arianum se esse factum miratus est.

² Archbp. LAUD against Fisher, p. 105, ed. Oxf. 1839. A

Church that is exceedingly corrupt is yet a *true* Church in verity of *essence*, but it is not a *right* Church: as a thief is a true *man* in the verity of *essence*, but is not a *right* man.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. p. 38. "A Church may be said to be a *true* Church in two senses, *metaphysically* and *morally*; and every Church which hath the essentials of a Church, how tainted soever it be in other things, is *metaphysically* a *true*" (though not *morally* a *right*) "Church." See also ii. 26. 55.

HOOKE, V. LXVIII. 9. We earnestly advise them to consider their oversight, in suffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome to blind and withhold their judgments from seeing that which withal they should acknowledge, concerning so much nevertheless still due to the same Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the House of God, a limb of the Visible Church of Christ.

Bp. SANDERSON, Preface to his Sermons, p. xviii. "The great *promoters* of the *Roman* interest among us, and betrayers of the Protestant cause, are they who, among other false principles, maintain that the Church of Rome is *no true* Church." The truth of the above assertion of Bp. Sanderson will appear on examination of the use which Bossuet makes of the allegation, that "Rome is no true Church," in his *Variations*, xv. 26, 27. See also Dr. FULLER, *Moderation of the Church of England*, chap. xvii. p. 454. "CASAUBON had good reason to say, The denying the Church of Rome the *being* of a Church, hath been a great hindrance of Reformation: and I verily believe the opinion most Papists are kept in, that the religion of Protestants is a *new religion*, is not of little force to make them averse from it to this day."

Q. But can you explain further, how she could be a Church in *Papal times*?

A. Because as both the Israelites and Jews had the Law and the Prophets and a Priesthood in the worst times, and were so God's people¹, as we have seen, and were recognized by Him and by Christ as such; as the apostolical and apocalyptic Churches, although tainted with sundry corruptions, (see above, p. 10.) did not therefore cease to

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be Churches, and are called Churches in Holy Writ; so in Popish times the Church of England had, by God's mercy, the *essentials of a Church*, though greatly marred and obscured. She had the Christian Sacraments; the Holy Scriptures; an Apostolic succession of Ministers: the Lord's Prayer; the three Creeds, and the Ten commandments², and she was therefore a Church.

¹ HOOKER, III. I. 8—10.

² The words of the Reformers on this important point, as for instance of MARTIN LUTHER, in S. Joann. c. xvi. and contra Anabaptistas, are very observable. Nos fatemur sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, imo omne bonum Christianum, atque etiam *illinc ad nos advenisse*; quippe fatemur in Papatu veram esse Sacram Scripturam, verum Sacramentum Altaris, veras claves ad remissionem peccatorum, verum prædicandi officium, verum Catechismum, ut sunt Oratio Dominica, Decem Præcepta, Articuli Fidei: dico insuper sub Papatu veram Christianitatem imo verum Christianitatis nucleum esse.

See also CALVIN, Instit. iv. 11, 12. Hinc patet nos *minime negare* quin sub Romani quoque Pontificis tyrannide *Ecclesie* maneat. See also, concerning the *English Reformers*, NEAL, History of the Puritans, pt. i. ch. iv. "It was admitted by the Court-Reformers," (by which the writer means Abp. PARKER, Bps. JEWELL, GRINDAL, &c.) "that the Church of Rome was a *true Church*, though corrupt in some points of doctrine and government; that all her ministrations were valid, and that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not [Supreme Head] of the Universal Church." And, finally, Rome is called a Church in the XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xix., on which Dr. HEY,—“The Church of Rome is here allowed the *essence* of a true Church.” iv. xix. 8. tom. ii. p. 373. ed. 1841, and in the CANONS (Canon 29) it is said, “So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the *Churches of Italy*,” &c.

Q. You speak of the Church of England as existing *before* Popery, and as holding the *ancient*

faith; but is she not called a *Protestant Church*, CHAP. V.
and is it then *consistent* to say, that she is *older*
than Popery, when Protestantism is a *renunciation*
of Popery? and how then can she be united by
doctrine with the Catholic Church?

A. The Church of England, *as a Church*, is as Above, Pt.
ii. chap. i.
old as Christianity. Her *Protestantism* is indeed
comparatively recent, and *this* for a good reason,
because the Romish *errors* and *corruptions*, against
which she *protests*, are *recent*: but the fact is, that,
as the *Universal Church*, for the maintenance of
her Catholicity, was *Protestant* at the first four
General Councils; as she *protested* at Nicæa
against the heresy of Arius, and at Constantinople
against Macedonius, as she *protested* at Ephesus
against Nestorius, and at Chalcedon against
Eutyches, so the Church of *England became Pro-*
*testant*¹ at the Reformation, in order that she
might be more truly and purely *Catholic*; and, as
far as Papal errors are concerned, if Rome will
become truly Catholic, then, but not *till then*, the
Church of England will *cease* to be *Protestant*.

¹ Archbp. LAUD, Conference with Fisher, sect. 21. The
Protestants did not get their name by protesting against the
Church of Rome, but by protesting (and that when nothing
else would serve) against her *errors* and superstitions. Do
you *remove them* from the Church of Rome, and our *Pro-*
testation is *ended*, and the *separation* too.—Thus far Abp.
LAUD; and it may be added, that if Rome would become
Catholic, *Popery* would cease too; for, as GROTIUS observes,
Epist. p. 5, *Fermè verum est quod quidam magni nominis*
theologi prodiderunt, omnia quæ vera sunt, et quæ nos
credimus, etiam a Papistis agnosci; sed addi insuper falsa
alia, quorum quædam sunt talia ut cum primis illis additis
veris nequeant consistere. Unde sequitur, redactâ Religione
ad ea in quæ omnes Ecclesiæ omnium temporum consen-

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BURKE, v. p. 180. We are Protestants, not from indifference, but *zeal*.

Q. But it is said, do not what are called the *Thirty-nine Articles* contain an exposition of the doctrines of the Church of England, and were they not first drawn up, as they now stand, in the year 1562: and if so, where was the Faith of the English Church *before* that time? and if she had no Articles of Faith, how could she be a Church? and how therefore be united in doctrine with the Catholic Church?

A. Where, we might ask in reply, was the faith of the *Universal Church* of Christ before the year 325, when the Nicene Creed was promulgated?—And the answer would be—It was in the *Holy Scriptures* as interpreted by the Church from the beginning. So the Church of England holds neither more nor less than ‘*the Faith once (for all, ἀπαξ)* delivered to the saints.’ The *Thirty-nine Articles* contain no *enactment* of any thing *new* in doctrine, but they are only a *declaration* of what is *old*. In them the Church of *England* affirms that HOLY SCRIPTURE¹ “containeth all things necessary to salvation,” and that by Holy Scripture she means “those Canonical books of whose authority was never any doubt in the *Church* ;” in them she asserts that the three *CREEDS*¹, which have been received by the Catholic Church ever since they were framed, “ought thoroughly to be received and believed.” She rejects the practice of public prayer in a tongue

Jude 3.

1 Tim. vi. 3
—5, 20.

Art. VI.

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not understood by the people as “plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the *custom of the primitive Church*.” Similarly, she appeals to “*Ancient Authors*,” “*Ancient Canons*,” “*Fathers*,” and “*Decrees*” of the Church in her Ordinal², Homilies, and Canons. She is ready to be judged by the earliest and best ages of the Church³. But, on the contrary, the Church of Rome, on other occasions, and especially at the *Council of Trent* in the sixteenth century (A.D. 1545-63), in defiance of the prohibition of the Third General Council⁴ (that of Ephesus), imposed *Twelve new Articles of faith*⁵ (which she does not pretend to rest on Holy Scripture) to be believed, on pain of damnation, on *the authority* of this Council, which was uncanonical⁶ in its convocation, illegal in its convention, and uncatholic in its constitution; and thus she claims to herself the power of publishing a *quintum Evangelium*; or rather, as may be truly said, she *convicts herself of obtruding* on the world a *New Religion*, and of being, so far, a *New Church*.

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. vi. Art. viii. Art. xxiv.

² Preface to the Ordinal, A.D. 1552. See the passage below cited, p. 209, also OFFICE for Consecration of Bishops; Brother, forasmuch as the Holy Scripture and the *ancient Canons* command, &c.

HOMILIES *passim*. As a specimen, see the Homily against Peril of Idolatry, pt. ii. p. 178. “It shall be declared that this truth and doctrine . . . was believed and taught of the *old holy Fathers*, and *most ancient learned Doctors*, and received in the *old Primitive Church*, which was *most uncorrupt and pure*; and this declaration shall be made out of the said holy Doctors’ own writings, and out of the ancient Histories Ecclesiastical to the same belonging.”

CANONS of 1603; in the 31st Canon, “Forasmuch as the

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ancient Fathers of the Church, led by the example of the Apostles, appointed, &c., we following their holy and religious example, do constitute and decree, &c.—Canon 32, According to the judgment of the *ancient Fathers*, and the practice of the primitive Church, We do ordain, &c.—Canon 33, It hath been long since provided by many *decrees of ancient Fathers*, That, &c. According to which example we do ordain.—Canon 60, Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable *custom in the Church of God, continued from the Apostles' time*, That, &c. We will and appoint, &c.

³ Of the Scriptural, Primitive, and Catholic foundation of the doctrine of the Church of England, a very clear and emphatic statement was made by KING JAMES I., aided by Bishop ANDREWES and ISAAC CASAUBON, to Cardinal PERRON, (Casauboni Epist. p. 493,) as follows, (see above, p. 190, 2, and below, p. 219). Beatus Chrysostomus, cum alibi, tum ex professo in Homiliâ, in Acta, xxxiii. tractans illam quæstionem, *Quo pacto vera Ecclesia inter plures societates, quæ hoc sibi nomen vindicant, possit discerni?* duo docet esse instrumenta judicandi et quæstionis hujus decidendæ; primò quidem *Verbum Dei*, tum autem *antiquitatem doctrinæ*, non ab aliquo recentiore excogitatæ, sed ab ipso Ecclesiæ nascentis *principio semper cognitæ*. Hæc duo *κριτήρια* REX cum ECCLESIA ANGLICANA totâ voluntate amplectens pronuntiat eam demum se doctrinam pro verâ simul et necessariâ ad salutem agnoscere, quæ e fonte Scripturæ Sacræ manans per consensum Ecclesiæ veteris, ceu per canalem, ad hæc tempora fuerit derivata. Pag. 498. REX igitur et ECCLESIA ANGLICANA, *quatuor prima Concilia œcumenica* quum admittant, eo ipso satis declarant, veræ ac legitimæ Ecclesiæ tempus non includere se uno aut altero demum seculo; verum multo longius producere, et Marciani Imperatoris, sub quo Chalcedonense concilium est celebratum, tempus complecti. . . . *Primitive Ecclesiæ* testimonio et pondere sublato, controversias hodiernas finem nunquam τὸ κατ' ἀνθρώπους accepturas, neque ullâ disputatione fore terminandas, ultro Serenissimus Rex agnoscit. Dogmata fidei, et quicquid ad salutem necessarium meretur credi, è *solâ Scripturâ sacrâ* peti debere, neque à quorumvis mortalium auctoritate pendere, sed e

Verbo Dei duntaxat, quo suam Ipse nobis voluntatem per Spiritum Sanctum declaravit. *Patribus* enim et *Ecclesiæ veteri* Fidei Articulos *eliciendi* è Sacrà Scripturâ, et *explicandi*, jus fuisse; *novos articulos comminiscendi* nullum jus fuisse. Isto posito fundamento et τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ paginæ sua majestas manebit sarta, tecta; et piis *Patribus* quæ debetur reverentia præstabitur. Hoc voluisse omnes veteris Ecclesiæ Doctores faciliè potest ex eorum scriptis demonstrari.

Cui jam nota non sunt verba aurea Basilii Magni, in libello de Fide? Φανερά ἔκπτωσις πίστεως, ἡ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἡ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.

⁴ CONCIL. GENERAL. Labbe, iii. p. 689, A. see below, p. 218. ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προσφέρειν ἢ συντιθέναι παρὰ τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συναχθέντων σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι—and it anathematizes all who dare to do so.

⁵ Abp. LAUD, Conference, Sect. 38. The Council of Trent having added *twelve new* articles to the *Creed*, says thus of them, '*Hæc est vera Catholica Fides, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest.*' (Bulla Pii IV. super Formâ Juramenti Prof. Fid. in fine Conc. Tridentini.)

BARROW on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 290. The New Creed of Pius IV. (i. e. of the Council of Trent) containeth these novelties and heterodoxies.

1. Seven Sacraments. 2. Trent Doctrine of Justification and Original Sin. 3. Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass. 4. Transubstantiation. 5. Communicating under one kind. 6. Purgatory. 7. Invocation of Saints. 8. Veneration of Reliques. 9. Worship of Images. 10. The Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches. 11. Swearing obedience to the Pope. 12. Receiving the decrees of all Synods and of Trent.

The Oath declares, *Hanc veram Catholicam Fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest*—voveo spondeo et juro—A. D. 1564. This Oath is to be taken by all Romish Priests, lay and secular, and by all members of monastic orders.

⁶ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxi. General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes.

Abp. LAUD, Conference, sect. 27, 28, 29. The Council of

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Trent was *not legal* in the necessary conditions to be observed in a General Council—both through defect of legal *convocation* and of legal *presidency*, and therefore without synodical order; for there is no such thing as a General Council without *imperial* or *royal convocation* and *presidency*.—(It was *partial* in its constitution,) there being more *Italian* Bishops than of all Christendom besides; and in some sessions scarce forty or fifty Bishops present. See also BRAMHALL, i. 258, 259, and note, and CASAUBON, Exc. Baron. xv. p. 214.

Q. But may not a similar defence be made for these twelve articles of the *Council of Trent*, as was just now alleged in behalf of the *Thirty-nine Articles*? May it not be said that *they also* were only *declaratory*, and that, though first *enounced* at that Council, they had been *believed* by the Catholic Church from the beginning?

A. This has indeed been said; but it is written
 2 Tim. iii. 15. in Scripture, that “the Holy Scriptures are able
 1 Pet. iv. 11. to make men wise unto salvation;” that, “if any
 man speak, let him speak as the Oracles of God,”
 Rom. xii. 6. and he that interpreteth (προφητεύων) “let him
 interpret according to the proportion of faith;”
 Jude 3. that “the faith was *once for all* (ἅπαξ) delivered
 to the saints;” that we are to hold fast the form of
 sound words, and that, “if any man, or even an
 Angel from heaven, preach any *other* doctrine”
 than what the Apostles have delivered, and the
 Gal. i. 9. Apostolic Churches have received, “let him be
 anathema;” and it is incredible that the Church
 should have *believed* from the beginning so many
 articles which it did not *publicly profess* till the
 Council of Trent; and no *proof* has ever been
 adduced of such a belief as is here affirmed.

And further, the *Thirty-nine Articles* not only do not enforce *any new* doctrine, but they affirm

(Article xx.) that none *can be enforced* which is not found in Scripture; whereas the greater number of these articles of the Council of Trent *were first declared then*: and they, be it observed, are articles of *doctrine*; and are required *on oath*, and under solemn anathemas, to be believed as *necessary to salvation*. Now, a Communion which enforces articles of *faith* which it does not find in Scripture, and which it allows to have been first *declared* in the sixteenth century after Christ, and which it cannot show to have been held in the early ages of the Church, does, in that respect, what is very unwarrantable; and, also, it leaves the world in uncertainty as to what it may *hereafter declare* to be necessary to salvation; it proves itself to have been very remiss in not having *before* declared doctrines which it asserts to be *necessary to salvation*; it removes the Faith from the rock on which Christ has set it, and places it on the shifting sand; it overthrows the authority of SCRIPTURE; it sets at defiance the Divine command, “To the Law and to the Testimony! *If* they speak *not* according to this WORD, it is because they *have no light in them*:” and it subjects itself to the fearful anathema, “Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem; si non est *scriptum*, timeant VÆ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum ¹!”

Deut. iv. 2.
xii. 32.
xviii. 20.
Prov. xxx.
5, 6.
Isa. viii. 20.
Matt. xv. 9.
Rom. xv. 4.
Gal. i. 9.
iii. 15.
2 Tim. iii.
15.
1 Pet. iv. 11.
Rev. xxii.
18.

¹ TERTULLIAN, c. Hermog. c. 22. de Virg. Vel. i. Regula Fidei una omninò est sola *immobilis*, et *irreformabilis*. The words of the ancient SCRIPTOR ANONYMUS, ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 16. Routh, Rel. Sacræ, ii. p. 73, are very worthy of remark; δεδιώς καὶ ἐξευλαβούμενος, μή πη δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάττεσθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Καινῆς Διαθήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν

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δυνατὸν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτεύεσθαι προ-
 ηρημένῳ. S. HIERON. in Aggeum, cap. i. Quæ absque
 auctoritate et testimoniis *Scripturarum* quasi *Traditione* Apos-
 tolicâ sponte reperiunt atque confingunt percutit gladius Dei.

S. AUG. c. liter. Petil. iii. 6. Si angelus de cœlo vobis
 annuntiaverit præterquam quod in *Scripturis* Legalibus et
 Evangelicis accepistis, Anathema sit!

HOOKE, II. v. 4. To urge any thing upon the Church
 requiring thereunto that religious assent of Christian belief
 wherewith the words of the Holy Prophets are received, to
 urge any thing as part of that supernatural and celestially
 revealed truth, which God hath taught, and not to show it
 in *Scripture*, this did the *Ancient Fathers* evermore think
unlawful, impious, execrable. See also Bp. SANDERSON,
 Prælect. iv. 19.

Q. But, although the Church of England de-
 clares that the Scriptures contain all things neces-
 sary to salvation, yet she is often said to admit the
 right of *private judgment* also, and may not therefore
novel expositions of the Scriptures be publicly pro-
 pounded with her permission by Ministers in her
 communion?

A. The term *private judgment* is often used very
 erroneously by those who do not understand or
 will not consider, its true meaning, which is, when
 men set up their *own private opinions* in *opposition*
 to the *declared public sentence of the Church*.

Now we affirm that the Church of England no
 where gives any countenance or sanction to any
such judgment, but, on the contrary, openly and
 strongly *condemns it*. Thus in her xxth Article,
 she asserts the power of the *Church* to decree rites
 and ceremonies, and that it has "authority in
 controversies of faith." And with respect to
discipline also, she says in her xxxivth Article,
 "Whosoever through his *private judgment* will-

ingly and purposely doth break the *traditions* of God's Church, which be not repugnant to God's Word, and be *ordained* and *approved by common Authority*, ought to be rebuked openly, that others may fear to do the like." She denies not indeed the liberty to any one to determine whether *he will engage to expound* according to her public formularies; but she admits *no* right in any one who *has made* such an engagement, to alter, weaken, and subvert, what he is by his own act pledged to maintain: on the contrary, she censures¹ all impugners of her doctrine and discipline; and no minister of her communion may expound² at all, unless examined, approved, and licensed by the Bishop; and all preachers are under the jurisdiction of their Ordinary³. As, then, she *professes* no *novelties* herself, so she *tolerates* none in her Ministers; and she has emphatically declared her reverence for Scripture, as expounded by Antiquity, in her Canon of 1571, concerning Preachers; In primis *videbunt Concionatores, nequid unquam doceant pro concione quod à populo religiosè teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illâ ipsâ doctrinâ Catholici Patres et veteres Episcopi collegerint*⁴.

¹ Canons of 1603. Canons 5, 6, 7, 9. 36.

² Canons 48, 49.

³ Canon 53.

⁴ Called by Bp. COSIN "the Golden Rule of the Church of England." On the Canon of Scripture, Table, ad finem. See also Bp. BEVERIDGE, vol. i. Serm. vi. p. 126, on this Canon. "So wisely hath our Church provided against novelties; insomuch that had this one rule been duly observed as it ought, there would have been no such thing as heresy or schism amongst us; but we should all have continued firm both to the doctrine and discipline of the Uni-

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versal Church, and so should have 'held fast the form of sound words' according to the Apostle's counsel;" And HUGO GROTIUS, de Imperio Sum. Pot. circa Sacra, vi. 8. Non possum non laudare *præclarum* Angliæ Canonem, '*Imprimis*,' &c. See also Bp. PEARSON, Posthumous Works, i. 436.

Q. But if the Church of Rome be chargeable with error and corruption in doctrine and discipline, is not the Church of England tainted with error and corruption, since she has derived so much from that of Rome? and if she wishes to be a pure Church, ought she not to renounce and utterly destroy what she has so received?

A. Let it be allowed for argument's sake, that the Church of England *has* received from the Primitive Church many things *through* that of Rome, and not rather *through* the *medium* of the ancient *British, Irish, and Scotch* Churches, and some things *from* that of Rome herself. But the nature of the former, as, for example, the Sacraments, the Word of God, Holy Orders, Episcopal Government, Prayers, Creeds, Places for Divine Worship, the observance of the Lord's Day and of Fasts and Festivals, has not been impaired by transmission; and if, because they had been abused¹, she had lost these, she would have lost herself; for the *abuse* of a thing does not take away its lawful *use*, but, on the contrary, *Is confirmat usum, qui tollit abusum*. The latter, such as certain Prayers and Ceremonies, were not derived from Romanists, *as such*, but from them as being therein Reasonable and Christian men; and the Church of England, by retaining both, has prudently, charitably, and piously vindicated and restored God's things to God's service²: whereas, if she had permitted the accidental asso-

ciation of bad with good to deprive her of the good, and had chosen to *destroy*, instead of to *restore*, she would have been guilty of the folly and of the sin of promoting the cause of evil against Almighty God and against herself³.

¹ CANONS of 1603. Canon xxx. See further below, pt. iii. ch. ii. last question but one.

² HOOKER, IV. III.

³ IV. VII. 6. When God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts first to *reform ourselves*, (whence grew our separation,) and then by all good means to seek also their reformation, had we not only cut off their *corruptions*, but also estranged ourselves from them in things *indifferent*, who seeth not how prejudicial this might have been to so good a cause? See Bp. SANDERSON'S Preface to his Sermons, § xv., and HOOKER, IV. VIII. IX. 2. IV. X. V. XII. 6. V. XVII. V. XXVIII.

CHAPTER VI.

UNINTERRUPTED SUCCESSION OF HOLY ORDERS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Q. I WOULD next inquire, if the Church of England can stand the test applied by the ancient Fathers to try Christian communities, whether they were sound branches of the Catholic Church?

A. Of what test do you speak?

Q. That before mentioned (p. 8. 61-2. 79—105); viz. whether her Ministers derive their commission by succession from the Apostles¹.

A. Yes; the Church of England traces the Holy Orders of her Bishops and Presbyters in an unbroken line from the Apostles of Christ²; and she declares in her Ordinal, (approved in her Articles [Art. xxxvi.] and Canons, [Canon

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xxxvi.] and subscribed by all her Ministers and by all who have taken Academic Degrees in her Universities of Oxford and Cambridge,) that “there have ever been Three Orders in Christ’s Church, those of *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, from the Apostles’ time;” and she recognizes none as having these orders, who have not received *Episcopal Ordination*³. (See above Pt. i. ch. xi. Pt. ii. ch. i.)

¹ S. IREN. iv. 43. p. 343. Grabe. Oportet obedire his, qui, cum *successionem* habent *ab Apostolis*, cum Episcopatûs *successione* charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt. See also above, p. 61, 2.

TERTULLIAN, Præscript. Hæret. c. 31. Edant (*Hæretici*) origines Ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita *per successiones* ab initio decurrentem ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem *ex Apostolis* vel Apostolicis viris habuerit auctorem et antecessorem.

S. CYPRIAN, Ep. 69. Non Episcopus computari potest qui nemini succedens a se ipso ortus est; such an one S. CORNELIUS, Routh, Rel. Sacr. ii. p. 10, calls ἐπίσκοπον ὥσπερ ἐκ μαγγάνου τινὸς εἰς μέσον ῥιφθέντα.

S. AUGUST. in Joannis Evang. Tract. xxxvii. 6. Catholica fides veniens de doctrinâ *Apostolorum*, plantata in nobis, per seriem *successionis* accepta, sana ad posteros transmittenda, inter utrosque, id est, inter utrumque errorem, tenuit veritatem.

Abp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 112. Apostolical succession is the nerve and sinew of Apostolic Unity. See above, p. 43. Bp. PEARSON, Minor Works, ii. 232.

² Bp. BEVERIDGE, Sermon. i. vol. i. p. 23, on Matt. xxviii. 20. They certainly hazard their salvation at a strange rate, who separate themselves from such a Church as ours, wherein the *Apostolical succession, the root of all Christian communion*, hath been so entirely preserved, and the Word and Sacraments are so effectually administered; and all to go into such assemblies and meetings as can have no pretence to the great promise in my text. For it is manifest that this promise was made only to the Apostles, and their successors, to

the end of the world. Whereas in the private meetings, where their teachers have no Apostolical or Episcopal imposition of hands, they have no ground to pretend to succeed the Apostles, nor, by consequence, any right to the Spirit which her Lord here promiseth.

³ BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER of the United Church of England and Ireland; Preface to Ordination Service. It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from *the Apostles' time* there have been these *orders* of Ministers in Christ's Church, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. Which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by publick Prayer, with Imposition of Hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority. And therefore, to the intent that these Orders might be continued and reverently used and esteemed in the *United Church of England and Ireland*, *no man shall be accounted* or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the United Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the *Form hereafter following*, or hath had formerly *Episcopal Consecration or Ordination*.—See also ACT OF UNIFORMITY, xiii. xiv.

Q. And this series was never interrupted?

A. No; never¹.

¹ Abp. BRAMHALL, ii. 203. We have set up no new Chairs, nor new Altars, nor new successions, but have *continued* those which were from the beginning. MASON, F. *Vindiciæ Eccles.* ch. viii—xvii. See CASAUBON, below, Pt. ii. ch. vii. p. 219.

The story of the Ordination of our first Bishop in Queen Elizabeth's reign at the Nag's Head Tavern in Cheapside thoroughly examined, and proved to be a late invented, inconsistent, self-contradictory, and absurd fable, &c. By THOMAS BROWNE, B.D., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1731, 8vo. COURAYER'S (P. F. Le) *Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois*, 1733. Bp. BULL, ii. 204. "The story of the Nag's Head

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Ordination is so putrid a fable, that the more learned and ingenuous Papists" (and Puritans, see NEAL, i. iv. p. 99) "are now ashamed to make use of it." PERCEVAL on Apostolical Succession, with an Appendix on the English Orders, 1841. See also the recent very able Preface to Abp. BRAMHALL's Works, vol. iii. Oxford, 1844, p. 4, and Of the Validity of the Matter and Form of English Orders, see Bp. PEARSON's Minor Works, i. 296. PRIDEAUX's Tracts, 1716, pp. 72—144. BRAMHALL, i. 271; and on the *novelty* in the form of the *Romish* Orders, see BRAMHALL, ii. 36. 40.

The following are testimonies of *Romanists* to the validity of English Orders:—COLBERT, Bishop of Montpellier, in the Catechism published by his Authority for the use of the Clergy of his Diocese, 1701, pt. i. sect. ii. ch. iii. § 7, p. 297, ed. 1795. *Demande.* Vous ne pouvez pas nier au moins que la *succession Apostolique* ne convienne à plusieurs Evêques de l'Eglise qu'on nomme *Anglicane*, même depuis qu'ils se sont séparés de la communion de l'Eglise Romaine? *Réponse.* Je conviens qu'il peut y avoir quelques-uns de ces Evêques qui aient cette succession. For the testimony of BOSSUET on this subject, see Courayer, *Preuves Justif.* § 1; and PALMER on the Church, ii. 453; and the Preface by the present ARCHBISHOP of PARIS to the work of Cardinal de Luzerne sur les Droits des Evêques:—L'Eglise Anglicane fut la seule des sectes Protestantes qui *conserva son Episcopat.* Paris, 1845; and Dr. LINGARD, *Hist. of England*, vol. vii. note i. says, "The Ceremony (of Archbishop Parker's Consecration) was performed, though with a little variation, according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. Two of the consecrators, Barlow and Hodgskins, had been ordained Bishops, according to the Roman Pontifical; the other two according to the Reformed Ordinal. (Wilk. Conc. iv. 198.) *Of this consecration, on the 17th of December (1559), there can be no doubt.*"

Q. Did, then, the Romish Church give an Apostolic commission to those teachers who preached against herself?

A. No. It was not *Rome*, but it is CHRIST, and Christ alone, Who *gives the commission* to preach and to send preachers, and Who prescribes what is

to be preached, viz. *His own Gospel*. The Church of Rome was only *one*¹ of the *Channels through which* CHAP. VI.
that commission *flowed*, and not the *Source from*
which it *rose*.

¹ Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. 94. Before Austin, there were in Britain, British Bishops and Scottish Bishops, to which he added English Bishops. These three successions, in tract of time, came to be united into *one*; so as every English Bishop now derives his succession from British, Scottish, and English Bishops.

Q. And this commission was not invalidated by the errors of those through whose hands it passed, so that the continuity of the Apostolic succession could thus have received any interruption?

A. No. The *divine office* must be distinguished from the *human officers*. The Grace of Holy Orders which was transmitted by them was the Grace, not of men, but of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and could not be impaired by any personal defects or demerits of the Ministers who transmitted it. In the communication of God's ordinances *non merita personarum considerata sunt, sed officia sacerdotum*¹.

Num. xxiv.
2.
1 Sam. x. 11.
Matt. xxiii.
2, 3.
John xi. 49.
Acts i. 25.
1 Cor. iii. 7.

¹ See S. AMBROSE, Epist. i. ad Chromatium.

S. OPTATUS, v. 4. Sacramenta per se sancta sunt, non per homines.

HOOKE, V. LXXVII. 3. Much less is it necessary which some have urged concerning the *re-ordination* of such as others in times more corrupt did consecrate before. Which error, already quelled by St. Jerome, doth not now require any further refutation. (In Dialog. c. Luciferianos.)

GERHARD, de Sacramentis, tom. iv. p. 293, and vi. 148, 149, where he cites passages from Martin Luther, resting his claim to the ministerial office on his *Episcopal Ordination* under the *Papacy* in 1507.

Bp. ANDREWES, vol. iii. p. 278, Sermon on the Sending of

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the Holy Ghost. Hath not the Church long since defined it positively, that the Baptism Peter gave was no better than that which Judas, and exemplified it that a seal of iron will give as perfect a stamp as one of gold? (Greg. Naz. Orat. de Baptism.) Semblably is it with these; they that by the word, the sacraments, the keys, are unto other the *Conduits* of Grace, to make them fructify in all good works, may well so be, though themselves remain unfruitful, as do the *pipes* of wood or lead, that by transmitting the water make the garden bear both herbs and flowers, though themselves never bear any. (S. Aug. Tract. v. in S. Joann.) Sever the *office* from the *men*; leave the *men* to God, to whom they stand or fall; *let the ordinance of God stand fast*.

XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxvi., and Bp BEVERIDGE on it: and see above, pt. ii. ch. v. p. 193—196; and below, pt. iii. ch. iii.

Q. But were not the Churches, in which those teachers preached, built and endowed by *Roman Catholics*, many of whose religious opinions the Church of England has declared to be erroneous, and ought they therefore to belong to her?

A. These Churches, by whomsoever they were founded, were dedicated "*DEO ET ECCLESIAE*;" and by consecration they became the property and the dwelling-places of the Most High¹, and ceased to be the possessions of man. Since then they belong not to *man*, but to *God*, and since

John xiv. 6.
xvii. 17.

1 Tim. ii. 5.

1 John v. 6.

God is TRUTH, therefore whatever doctrine and whatever worship is *true*, *may*, nay, *must* be taught and offered therein. Moreover, to speak of the *intention* with which they were *founded*, they were built for *Christian* preaching and worship, and not for the promotion of *Popery*, *as such*, much less of Popery such as it *became* in the sixteenth century at the Council of Trent; they were built, not for the maintenance of *error*, but of *truth*; and their endowments, though given, indeed, in

some cases, to an *erring* Church, were not given to its *errors*. And further (as the Churches of the Donatists in Africa and their endowments were transferred to the Catholic Church by Christian Emperors in the fifth century, and this was done *legibus religiosis*², as St. Augustin calls them; so) when the whole body of the Church and State of England, Sovereign and People, Clergy and Laity, (doubts and questions having arisen concerning divers points of doctrine and discipline,) did, after consulting Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity, in a lawful and deliberate manner³ consider and decide the question *what is truth* and what is error, and so the plea of *ignorance* on these matters was taken away, it would have been inconsistent with the duty of Rulers and People to Almighty God, and injurious to the Founders of those Churches, and to the Nation at large, to have suffered error mixed with truth, and corrupting it both in teaching and worship, to be perpetuated in them, instead of Truth alone. The Pantheon of Agrippa, at Rome, was once a heathen temple, dedicated to all the gods, and it is now a Christian Church; and the members of the Church of England might ask the Romanist why sacrifices are not there offered to Jupiter, if he should enquire of them why saints are not invoked and images worshipped in our Churches.

¹ Ecclesia (says the English Law, 2 Inst. 64) est domus mansionalis OMNIPOTENTIS DEI. Cp. HOOKER, V. XII. 3. The Dedication of Churches serveth to *surrender* up that right which otherwise their founders might have in them, and to make God Himself their *Owner*. See also SOUTH, in Christian Institutes, iii. p. 429.

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² S. AUGUSTIN, Epist. 50, ad Bonifac. Quicquid nomine Ecclesiarum partis *Donati* possidebatur, Christiani Imperatores *legibus religiosis* cum ipsis Ecclesiis ad *Catholicam* transire jusserunt.

SARAVIA, de Sacrilegio, p. 88. In Reformatione Ecclesia fit casta conjux, et vero suo Christo reconciliatur: quare bona mariti tanquam uxor sibi vendicat legitima Ecclesia.

³ See above, ch. v. p. 190—4. Of 9400 beneficed Clergy, only 243 (according to Neal, i. ch. iv,) or 199 (according to Bp. Burnet) did not conform to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England as reformed in 1559.

Q. You have before spoken of the Church of England as *Protestant* (p. 197); is she not then liable to a charge of inconsistency and partiality in recognizing the Holy Orders of the Church of *Rome*, while she does not acknowledge those of such *Protestant Communities* as do not possess Episcopal Government; and does she not, it may be enquired, in so doing, prefer Romanists to Protestants?

Preface to
the Ordinal.

Eccles. xlii.

1.

James ii. 1.

Jude 16.

A. No. The Church of England does in no respect prefer *persons, as such, to any other persons*. But, as the baptism given by Judas was the baptism of Christ not less than that given by Peter or by John, and therefore the primitive Church¹ did *not re-baptize* those who had been baptized by Judas, but it *did baptize* those who had been baptized by John the Baptist; and in so doing, it did not prefer *Judas to John*, but it preferred the baptism of *Christ*, though given by *Judas*, to the baptism of *John the Baptist*, though given by *John himself*; so the Church of England prefers the Holy Orders of *Christ*², by *whomsoever* they may be given, to a commission from *man*, whoever he may be. In this matter, there-

Acts xix. 5.

fore, she is resolved to "follow the perfection of them that like not her, rather than the defect of them whom she loves ³." CHAP. VI.

¹ S. AUGUST. in Joannis Evang. Tract. v. 18. Baptismum Christi das, ideo non *post te* baptizatur; *post Joannem* (Baptistam) ideo baptizatum est, quia non *Christi* baptismum dabat, sed *suum*. Non ergo tu melior quàm Joannes: sed baptismus, qui per te datur, melior quam Joannis. Ipse enim *Christi* est, iste autem Joannis. Et quod dabatur a Paulo, et quod dabatur a Petro, Christi erat: et si datum est a *Judâ*, Christi erat. Dedit Judas, et non baptizatum est *post Judam*; dedit Joannes, et baptizatum est *post Joannem*: quia si datus est a *Judâ* baptismus, Christi erat: qui autem a Joanne datus est, Joannis erat. Non *Judam* Joanni, sed baptismum *Christi*, etiam per *Judæ* manus datum, baptismo *Joannis* etiam per manus *Joannis* dato rectè præponimus.

² See above, p. 210.

³ HOOKER, V. XXVIII. 1.

Q. But it is asked, since a Church cannot exist without a *priesthood*¹, nor a priesthood without a *sacrifice*, can it be said that there is any sacrifice in the Church of England: and if not, has she a true priesthood, and is she a true Church?

A. The Church of England has *all* the sacrifice Heb. x. 26. which the Catholic Church has, and she dares not have more. In her Office for the Holy Communion she has a sacrificium *primitivum*, i. e. a sacrifice in which she offers "alms and oblations," *primitiæ*, Phil. iv. 18.
Heb. xiii. 16. or *first-fruits*, of His own gifts², to God, as the Creator and Giver of all; she has a sacrificium *eucharisticum*, i. e. a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving;" she has a sacrificium *votivum*, in which the communicant presents *himself*, his "soul and body, to be a reasonable sacrifice to God," and in which the Church offers herself, which is "Christ's" Ps. cxvi. 12.
1 Cor. vi. 20.
xi. 23—26.
Heb. xiii. 1.
Rom. xii. 1.
1 Pet. ii. 5.

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mystical body," to God³; a sacrificium *commemorative*, commemorative of the death and sacrifice of Christ; a sacrificium *repræsentativum*, which represents and pleads His meritorious sufferings to God; a sacrificium *impetrativum*, which implores the benefits of Christ's death from Him; and she has a sacrificium *applicativum*, which applies them to the worthy receiver. But she has *no* sacrificium *defectivum*, in which the cup is denied to the lay communicant; nor, on the other hand, has she a sacrificium *suppletivum*, to make up any supposed defects in the One great sacrifice offered once for all for the sins of the world, upon the cross, by Him Who "remaineth a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek⁴."

John vi. 51
—56.

Heb. vii. 27.
x. 12. 14.

Heb. vii. 15.

¹ S. HIERON. adv. Lucif. c. 8. Ecclesia non est quæ non habet *Sacerdotes*.

² GRABE, ad S. Iren. iii. xxxii. Ante consecrationem, veluti *primitias* creaturarum, in recognitionem supremi Ejus super universa dominii. pp. 323—328, and p. 396. "Hoc est," (says GROTIUS, Annot. in Cassand. Art. x. p. 620,) "quod dicitur in Liturgiis, τὰ Σὰ ἐκ τῶν Σῶν."

³ GROTIUS, iv. p. 620. Tertium sacrificium est quod facit Ecclesia *offerens corpus Christi, quod est Ipsa*, ut loquitur Augustinus. Offerunt enim fideles suum corpus et sanguinem Deo, parati, si res ita tulerit, pro Ejus gloriâ vitam profundere. Sic Abraham dicitur filium obtulisse defunctione cordis, ut explicat Salvianus.

⁴ Archbp. LAUD against Fisher, 35. In the Eucharist we offer up to God three sacrifices; one by the priest only, that is the *commemorative* sacrifice of Christ's death, *represented* in bread broken and wine poured out; another by the priest and people jointly, and that is the sacrifice of *praise* and *thanksgiving* for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ; the third by every particular man for himself, and that is the sacrifice of every man's *body and soul* to serve Him in both all the rest of his life.

Bp. ANDREWES, v. 67. Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. 276. Bp. CHAP. VII.
 VAN MILDERT'S Preface to Waterland's Works, i. 267—276,
 and WATERLAND, Works, vii. p. 349. viii. p. 161. GROTIUS
 in Cassand. Art. x. p. 620.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND DID NOT SEPARATE HERSELF FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Q. IT is one of the marks of the true Church Matt. v. 14.
 to be *always visible*: was then, it is asked, the
 Protestant Church of England visible before the
 Reformation? and if not, can it be a true Church?

A. Yes, (as has been before stated, chap.
 i—vi.) the Church of England has been *always*
 visible since the time of the Apostles, not indeed
as Protestant, but as a branch of the Catholic
 Church. A man is a man, and a visible man,
 even when he is labouring under a sore disease.
 Job was visibly Job when he was covered with
 sores. So was the Church of England visible in
 the worst times. She was visible in her Churches,
 in her ordained Ministry, and in her religious
 assemblies; she was visible in the Holy Sacra-
 ments, in the Holy Scriptures, in the Decalogue,
 in the Lord's Prayer, and in the Creeds, which
 she retained¹ even in the worst times; she was
 visible in the flames of her martyrs, who suf-
 fered for the TRUTH.

¹ HOOKER, III. I. 8—10. See above, chap. v. p. 191—211.

Q. But if the Church of England was still a

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Church in Papal times, was she not guilty of the *sin of schism* in separating herself from the Church of Rome?

Below,
p. 29.

A. Schism is a *voluntary* separation (Part i. p. 43). The Church of England did never *separate herself* from any Christian Church¹, or make a division in the universal Church; she purified herself indeed from *Romish errors, usurpations, and corruptions*; but she did not sever herself from the Catholic Church, nor even from the *Church of Rome*².

¹ The following is the language of the Church herself on this subject. CANONS, 1603. Canon xxx. *So far* was it from the purpose of the Church of England to *forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches*, that it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders.

HOOKE, III. I. 10. We hope that to *reform ourselves*, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to *sever* ourselves from the Church we were of before.

See above,
p. 201.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. p. 39. We have not left the *Roman Church in essentials*.—We retain the same *Creed* to a word, and in the same *sense*, by which all the Primitive Fathers were saved, which they held to be so *sufficient*, that in a General Council (Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, pt. ii. act. vi. cap. 7. Labbe, Concil. iii. p. 689. A.) they did forbid all persons, under pain of deposition to Bishops and Clerks, and anathematization to laymen, to compose or obtrude any other upon any persons converted from Paganism or Judaism. We retain the same *Sacraments* and *Discipline* which they retained; we derive our *Holy Orders* by lineal succession from them. It is not we who have forsaken the *essence* of the *modern* Roman Church by *subtraction*, but they who have forsaken the *ancient* Roman Church by *addition*. Can

we not forsake their New Creed, unless we forsake their Old Faith? See also BRAMHALL, ii. 200. CHAP. VII.

² CASAUBONI *Epistolæ*, Roterodami, 1709, p. 483. Ecclesiam enim Anglicanam adeò non descivisse à fide veteris Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quam veneratur et suspicit, ut ne à fide quidem *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ desciverit, quatenus illa cum vetere Catholicâ consentit. Si quæritur successio personarum, in promptu sunt nomina Episcoporum et series à primo nusquam interrupta. Si successio doctrinæ, agite, periculum facite. See above, chaps. iv. and vi., and below, chap. viii., and Bp. BILSON, *Perpet. Gov.* c. 15.

Q. How can you further show this?

A. Even by the confession and practice of Popes and Romanists themselves. The doctrine and discipline of the Church of England is to be found in her Book of *Common Prayer*. Now the Popes of Rome, Paul the Fourth, and Pius the Fourth, offered to confirm this¹ Book, if Queen Elizabeth would acknowledge the Pope's supremacy; and Roman Catholics in these realms habitually conformed to the worship of the Church of England for the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's reign², after which time they were prevented from doing so by the bull of Pius V. (dated Feb. 23, 1569) which excommunicated that sovereign³.

¹ TWISDEN, p. 175. BRAMHALL, ii. 85. Ld. CLARENDON, *Religion and Policy*, p. 381.

² CAMDEN, *Annal.* 1570.

Bp. ANDREWES, *Tortura Torti*, pp. 130—132.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. 248. For divers years in Queen Elizabeth's reign there was no recusant known in England; but even they who were most addicted to Roman opinions yet frequented our Churches and public assemblies, and did join with us in the use of the same prayers and divine offices, without any scruple, till they were prohibited by a papal bull for the interest of the Roman court. Bp. TAYLOR, vii.

289, 290. Bp. BULL, ii. 207. See authorities quoted in Christian Institutes, iv. 251, and PALMER on the Church, i. 457.

³ BULLARIUM ROMANUM, viii. p. 98.

Q. How was this separation from Romish errors occasioned?

A. *First*, through the unjust claims¹, usurpations, encroachments, and exactions of the Bishop of Rome with respect to *Investiture, Annates, Peter-pence, Papal Bulls, Appeals, &c.*; which claims rested on forged Papal Decretals² published by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, and by Pseudo-Isidorus in the ninth century, and the Decretum of Gratian in the twelfth; and which were enforced with great rigour and rapacity, in defiance of reason, law, custom, and long and oft-repeated remonstrance³; and, *secondly*, through the principles of state policy propounded by the see of Rome, which rendered resistance to its domination on the part of Princes and Governments necessary for their own preservation; *thirdly*, through the imposition of new and corrupt *doctrines* on the part of the *Church* of Rome⁴ as *necessary to salvation* and as *terms of Communion* with her.

¹ Sir R. TWISDEN, p. 117. 134. 176. 179. Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. 149—151. Bp. BULL, ii. 207. Bp. STILLINGFLEET on Eccles. Jurisdict. p. 52. (in Eccl. Cases, vol. ii.) PALMER on the Church, i. 434—439.

² BUDDÉI Isagoge, i. p. 757. 759. 763. LABBE, Concil. i. p. 78. ABBÉ FLEURY, Discours IV. de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, pp. 159. 290. PUETTER, Historical Development of the Constitution of the German Empire,—Dornford's Translation, i. p. 79. It had been customary for the learned to employ themselves in collecting the decrees of the ancient

synods of the Church, and sometimes the letters of the Bishops of Rome. A certain *Dionysius Exiguus* had published such a collection at Rome about A.D. 526, from Pope Siricius, A.D. 385, to Pope Anastasius, A.D. 498. *Isidorus*, Bp. of Seville in Spain, who died A.D. 636, made a similar collection. An impostor about the middle of the ninth century made use of the name of Isidorus to promote the circulation of a collection he had fabricated, which he pretended contained the letters of Bishops of Rome from as far back as A.D. 93. The subjects of them tended chiefly to prove that the Bishop of Rome was the successor of the Apostle Peter, that the keys of Heaven were in his hands, and that the foundation of the Church rested on him; that all Archbishops and Bishops were subject to the Pope, from whom they derived all the power they enjoyed; that it was his prerogative to excommunicate both kings and princes, and to declare them incapable of reigning. The decrees of councils were falsified; no less than fifty forged decrees were added to the Council of Nice, and the sense of other passages, in which the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople were placed on an equality with the Bishop of Rome, was reversed by the insertion of a negative. The authors of this scheme contrived to disperse the collection, which was at last so universally received as genuine, that the greatest part of it was received into the *Papal Code*, which is still the source of Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical law; and whole nations and general Councils of the Church were unable to resist the consequences of the Collection of Isidorus, the spurious character of which was first exposed to the world by the divines who compiled a laborious work on Ecclesiastical History, called the *Centuries of Magdeburgh*, about the middle of the 16th century. The establishment of the Isidorian principles was reserved for a man who carried them even far beyond their original design. This was the object of Hildebrand, as counsellor of the Popes, till he ascended the pontific throne as Gregory VII. Concerning the formation of the CANON LAW, see note Eccl. Biog. i. 129.

³ Bp. BILSON, *Christian Subjection*, Pt. i. p. 105.

⁴ See above, p. 198—201; below, p. 225—227.

Abp. BRAMHALL, ii. 56. 199, 200.

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Q. Mention some of these main principles of State Policy.

A. The Bishop of Rome, in his public enactments¹, never yet revoked, claimed power to dethrone Kings, to dispose of their Kingdoms, to prohibit Ecclesiastics from taking Oaths of Allegiance, and to release all subjects from the obligation of such oaths to their lawful Sovereigns².

¹ The following are the statements of the PAPAL SEE concerning *its own powers*; they are all derived from the CANON LAW approved and published by its *authority (jussu)*. See the Bull of Pope GREGORY XIII. prefixed to the Canon Law.

The Pope has power to absolve subjects from their Oath of Allegiance to Kings.

DECRETI ii. Pars. Causa xv. Qu. vi. Gratian. A fidelitatis juramento Romanus Pontifex nonnullos absolvit cum aliquos a suâ dignitate deponit.

Oaths of Allegiance, if against the interest of the Church, are to be regarded as Perjuries.

Pope GREG. IX. Decret. lib. ii. Tit. xxiv. de jurejurando.

INNOCENT III. *ibid.* Tit. xxvii. Circa A.D. 1204. Non juramenta sed *perjuria* potius sunt dicenda quæ contra utilitatem Ecclesiasticam attentantur.

Oaths of Allegiance cannot be imposed on Ecclesiastics.

Pope INNOCENT III. *ibid.* Tit. xxiv. Circa A.D. 1216. Nimis de jure divino quidam laici usurpare nituntur cum viros *Ecclesiasticos* ad præstandum sibi fidelitatis juramenta compellunt. Sacri concilii (Lateranensis) auctoritate prohibemus ne tales Clerici personis secularibus præstare cogantur hujusmodi juramenta.

Oaths of Allegiance against the see of Rome, or the private interests of Ecclesiastics, are not binding.

Pope HONORIUS III. *ibid.* Tit. xxiv. Princeps Antiochenus timens conspirationes aliquas fieri contra eum, a vobis juramentum extorsit, quòd contra ipsum non essetis. Interpretatione congruâ declaramus vos *juramento hujusmodi non*

teneri quin pro juribus et honoribus ipsius Ecclesiæ ac etiam CHAP. VII.
specialibus vestris legitimè defendendis contra ipsum principem
 stare libere valeatis.

*The pope has power to depose Kings even for private reasons,
 and to absolve soldiers from their oaths.*

Pope GREG. III. A.D. 1080. *ibid.* Alius Romanus Pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, Regem Francorum non tam pro suis iniquitatibus quàm pro eo quod *tantæ potestati erat inutilis*, regno deposuit, omnesque Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis quod illi fecerant absolvit. Quod etiam *ex auctoritate frequenti* agit sancta Ecclesia, cum milites absolvit a vinculo juramenti. See also Pope GREG. VII. apud Thom. Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xii. Art. 2.

The Pontifical power is universally paramount to the Royal.

Pope GREG. IX. Decret. lib. i. Tit. xxxiii. Pope INNOCENT III. A.D. 1198. Nosse debueras quod fecit Deus duo magna luminaria in firmamento cœli. Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc est universalis Ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, id est duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt Pontificalis autoritas et Regalis potestas. Sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est spiritualibus, major est, quæ vero carnalibus, minor; ut *quanta inter solem et lunam*, tanta inter Pontifices et Reges differentia cognoscat.

Subjection to the Roman Pontiff is necessary to salvation.

Pope BONIFACE VIII. Extrav. Com. lib. i. Tit. viii. Circa an. 1302. (Bull *Unam Sanctam*.) *Uterque* gladius est in potestate Ecclesiæ, spiritalis scilicet gladius et materialis. De Ecclesiâ et Ecclesiasticâ potestate verificatur vaticinium Hieremiæ, (Hier. i.) *Ecce constitui Te hodie super gentes et regna*. Et autem hæc autoritas non humana sed potius divina, ore divino Petro data, sibi que suisque successoribus, in ipso quem confessus fuit, Petrâ firmata. *Porro subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronuntiamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*

² The secular claims of the popedom are thus stated by CARDINAL BELLARMIN, de Pontifice Romano, v. c. 6. Pontifex ut Pontifex etsi non habet ullam merè temporalem potestatem, tamen habet in ordine ad bonum spirituale, [of which, who is to be judge but himself?] *summam potestatem dispo-*

PART II. *nendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum.* Yet vast as this claim is, it is to be remembered, that POPE SIXTUS V. placed the work of Bellarmin among the prohibited books on account of this reservation *in ordine ad spiritualia*.

HOMILIES, p. 540, ed. 1822. The Bishop of Rome, being by the order of God's word none other than the Bishop of that Church and Diocese, did challenge not only to be head of all the Church dispersed throughout all the world, but also to be lord of all the kingdoms of the world, as is expressly set forth in *the book of his own canon laws*.

TOWNSON'S Works, ed. Lond. 1810. vol ii. p. 252. This is declared with great solemnity from the portico of St. Peter's Church, in the presence of a numerous assembly, at the Coronation of a Pope; when a Cardinal Deacon having taken the mitre from his head, another places on it the triple crown, and says, *Accipe Tiaram tribus coronis ornatam, et scias te esse Patrem Principum et Regum, Rectorem orbis, In terra Vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*. See also C. LESLIE, Case Stated, p. 75.

Archbp. LAUD, Conference with Fisher, sect. 25. In a synod at Rome, about the year 1076, Pope Gregory the Seventh established certain brief conclusions, twenty-seven in number, upon which stands almost all the greatness of the papacy. These conclusions are called *Dictatus Papæ*, and they are reckoned up by BARONIUS in the year 1076, num. 31, 32, &c. But whether this dictatorship did now first invade the Church, I cannot certainly say. The chief of those propositions follow here :

'Quod solus Rom. pontifex jure dicatur *universalis*.'
'Quod solius Papæ pedes omnes Principes deosculentur.'
'Quod liceat illi Imperatores deponere.' 'Quod nulla Synodus absque præcepto ejus debet Generalis vocari.'
'Quod nullum Capitulum, nullusque Liber Canonicus habeatur absque illius autoritate.' 'Quod sententia illius à nullo debet retractari, et ipse omnium solus retractare potest.'
'Quod Rom. Ecclesia nunquam erravit, nec in perpetuum, Scripturâ testante, errabit.' 'Quod Rom. Pontifex, si canonicè fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus.' 'Quod à fidelitate iniquorum subditos potest absolvere.' See CASAUBON, Exc. Baron. xv. p. 373

Q. But were these such grievances as concerned CHAP. VII.
the *Church* of England as well as the *State*?

A. Yes, certainly, they concerned both; and any remonstrance against them was treated by the Bishop of Rome as resistance to his *spiritual* authority, and denounced by him *as heresy*: and, in addition to these, there were other grievances purely spiritual.

Q. What were these?

A. Sundry Articles of Doctrine promulgated by the Bishop of Rome.

Q. Specify them.

A. In the year A.D. 606, Pope Boniface the Third demanded that the Bishop of Rome should be recognized by Christendom as *Episcopus Episcoporum*, or *Universal Bishop*; A.D. 787, Pope Hadrian the First ordered that *images* should be *worshipped*; A.D. 1302, Pope Boniface the Eighth¹ decreed that subjection to the Pope was *necessary to salvation*; A.D. 1516, Leo the Tenth decreed that the Pope was superior *to all general councils*² *of the Church*.

¹ POPE BONIFACE VIII. Extravag. Commun. 1, viii. 1. Qui in Potestate Petri temporalem esse gladium negat, male verbum attendit Domini proferentis, 'Converte gladium tuum in vaginam.'—Porro subesse Romano Pontifici, *omni humanæ creaturæ* declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronuntiamus omninò *esse de necessitate salutis*. Dat. Laterani, Pont. Nost. Ao. viii. Decretal. p. 1160, ed. Lips. 1839. On which, says CARDINAL BARONIUS, (Annal. anno 1303, § 14.) Hæc Bonifacius, cui *assentiuntur omnes* nisi qui dissidio ab Ecclesiâ excidit; and his constitution was affirmed by POPE LEO X. Concil. Lateran. Sess. ii. tom. xiv. p. 309 Labbe. Christus . . Petrum ejusque successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri Regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut, qui non *obedierit, morte moriatur*; and the Bull in

PART II. Cœnâ Domini (declared by JULIUS II. in 1511, to be of universal obligation) *anathematizes* all who appeal from a Pope to a General Council.

² CRAKANTHORPE, *Defens. Eccl. Angl.* pp. 20. 87. Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 247. 249. 257. Bp. BULL, ii. 248. 273.

Q. But although these tenets were novel and false, and were condemned by the Church in her Councils¹, and had been opposed even by Popes¹ of Rome, still, since a Church may err and yet continue a Church, as we have before seen, (Pt. i. ch. v. Pt. ii. ch. v.) did the maintenance of these errors render all intercourse with the Church of Rome impossible?

A. No; and therefore the Church of England, though it could not communicate with that of Rome *in these errors*², and was *bound to reform*³ *herself*, whatever Rome might do, yet she did not separate from her; ‘*Nam,*’ as Luther said, ‘*Christum propter diabolum non deseri debere;*’ and, by allowing her baptism and holy orders, she *still* communicates with her (see above p. 218; below, p. 231): but the fact is, that the Church of Rome, so far from showing any disposition to reform herself, or even to *tolerate communion* with *herself* on Scriptural and Catholic terms, was not satisfied with *propounding* these errors and novel-ties, but proceeded to *exact a belief* in them from all, as a necessary *condition of communion with her*, and persecuted, excommunicated, condemned, and anathematized as heretics those who could not believe them; which she continues to do to this day; and so what separation took place and still exists, was occasioned and is still caused, not by the Church of England, but by that of Rome⁴.

¹ Image worship was condemned in the Council of Frankfurt; the Hildebrandine principles in the councils of Mance, Worms, and others; the Leonine at Constance and Basle; and they had been previously condemned by some of the Popes themselves: POPE GREGORY the Great, Epist. ii. 62, says, *Regia Potestas cœlitus est Imperatori super omnes homines data*.—Epist. vii. 3. *Ab imaginum adoratione prohibeat, et zelum eorum laudet qui nihil manufactum adorare volunt*.—In Ezechiel i. Hom. 9. In volumine sacro scripta sunt et continentur omnia quæ erudiunt. His opinion of the title *Episcopus Episcoporum* is quoted below in this Part, chap. ix.; and of the authority of General Councils, his words have been referred to above, chap. iii. p. 164.

² HOOKER, III. I. 10. With Rome we dare not communicate, concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ. BRAMHALL, ii. 35. 39. 41.

³ Archbp. LAUD, Conference, sect. 24. Was it not lawful for Judah to reform itself when Israel would not join? Sure it was, or else the prophet (Hos. iv. 15) deceives me that says, 'Though Israel transgress, yet let not Judah sin.' See also HOOKER, III. I. 10.

⁴ Bp. SANDERSON, Sermon. xi. 9. The *Bishops of Rome* by obtruding their own inventions both in faith and manners, and those inventions to be received under pain of damnation, became the *authors* and still are the *continuers* of the widest *schism* that ever was in the Church of Christ from the first infancy thereof.

Q. When did the Church of Rome enforce these articles as terms of communion with herself?

A. On several occasions, but especially and emphatically at the illegal, uncatholic, and uncanonical Council of Trent¹, when she anathematized all who did not believe these and other new, unscriptural, and anti-scriptural² articles, *as necessary to salvation, on her authority*.

PART II. ¹ BULLA PII IVti Concil. Trident. pp. 209, 210. Lips. 1837. For this character of this council, see above, Archbp. LAUD, p. 201, 2.

² See above, pt. ii. chap. v. p. 198—201.

Q. This was a *general* denunciation; but has she not gone further than this in her conduct towards the Church of *England*?

A. Yes. In the year 1535, Pope Paul the Third not only excommunicated the supreme governor of the Church of England, Henry the Eighth¹, but forbad his subjects to obey him, commanded his nobles to rebel against him, and ordered all Bishops and Pastors to leave England, having first placed it under an Interdict. In 1558², Paul the Fourth excommunicated and *deprived of their kingdoms* ALL heretical princes, both *present and to come*. He sent in the same year a menacing message to Queen Elizabeth². In 1570³, Pius the Fifth (who was *canonized* as a Saint by the Church of Rome in the year 1712) issued a Bull denouncing and dethroning Queen Elizabeth, and commanding her subjects to rise in insurrection against her. Paul V. by his brief Oct. 1, 1606, and Urban VIII. by his bull dated May 30, 1626, forbad all English Roman Catholic subjects to take the oath of allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, as injurious to the *Catholic faith*; and in the year 1613 Paul V., and in 1671, Clement the Tenth, excommunicated and anathematized the members of all Protestant Churches in a bull expressly ratified and renewed by more than twenty Popes, and annually read every Maundy Thursday⁴ at Rome till the year 1740, and which is *still in full force*⁵. And in the oath

to the Pope which all Roman Catholic Bishops CHAP. VII.
 now take on their consecration, is the following
 clause, "Hæreticos omnes, Schismaticos, et rebelles
 eidem Domino nostro (Papæ) vel successoribus
pro posse, persequar et impugnabo ⁶." Hence, with
 respect to the separation from Rome, the Church
 of England *non schisma fecit sed patitur* ⁷; and
 her members may well say, with Bp. Jewell ⁸, '*Non
 tam discessimus, quam ejecti sumus*;' and with King
 James the First, '*Non fugimus, sed fugamur* ⁹.'

¹ Bullarium Romanum, vi. p. 129.

² Bullar. Rom. vi. p. 355.

PIETRO SOAVE, Stor. di Concil. Trid. lib. v. Il Papa
 rispose (alla Regina) che quel Regno (d'Inghilterra) era
feudo della sede Apostolica; ch'era stata una grand' audacia
 dell' haver assonto il nome ed il governo *senza lui*.

³ Bull. Rom. vii. p. 99.

⁴ Thence called the BULL *in Cænâ Domini*, Bull. Rom.
 v. p. 319. xxi. p. 95. For the history of this Bull, see
 FLEURY, Histoire Ecclésiastique, xxxiv. p. 532. an. 1568.
 Quelques-uns ont cru qu'elle commença à paroître en 1420.
 D'autres la font remonter à Clément V. et même au ponti-
 ficat de Boniface VII., élu en 1224. Jules II. statua en
 1511 qu'elle obligeait partout.

See also, on this Bull, LESLIE, Case Stated, &c. Lond.
 1714, Appendix, where the Bull is printed, as also in H.
 WHARTON'S Tracts; and see the full details given in LIBRI
 SYMBOLICI ECCL. CATH. ed. Steitwolf, Gott. 1838, p. xcix.

⁵ CARDINAL ERSKINE (Promotore della Fede, and Uditore
 del Papa) in his letter to Sir J. C. Hippisley, Aug. 1793,
 says, "This bull, though the formality of its publication is
now omitted, is nevertheless implicitly in vigour *in all its
 extension*, and is likewise observed in all cases where there is
 no impediment to the exercise of the Pope's authority. It
 must therefore be looked upon as a *public declaration* to
 preserve his *rights*." See Report of Committee on Rom.
 Cath. Subjects, p. 340. 1816.

⁶ This clause is, in *some countries*, *dispensed with in practice*

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by special indulgence from Rome, but it stands in the ROMAN PONTIFICAL, p. 63, ed. Rom. 1818.

⁷ Archbp. LAUD against Fisher, p. 109. I never said or thought that the Protestants made this rent. The cause of the schism is yours; for you thrust us from you, because we call for truth and redress of abuses. A schism must needs be theirs whose the *cause* of it is. The woe is against him that *gives* the offence. (Matt. xviii. 7.) *The Protestants did not depart, for departure is voluntary.*

Archbp. LAUD, Sermons, 1651, p. 19. The Church of Rome challengeth us for breach of this peace in our separation from them: but we say, and justly, *the breach was theirs by their separation not only from disputable but from evident truth.* Nor are we fallers out of the Church, but they fallers off from *verity*. Let them return to primitive truth, and our quarrel is ended. See also HOOKER, III. i. 10. Bp. SANDERSON'S Last Will and Testament (in his Life by Isaac Walton): I am abundantly satisfied that the Schism which the Papists lay to our charge is very justly chargeable upon themselves.

⁸ Bp. JEWELL, Apol. iv.

⁹ CASAUBONI Epist. p. 494. Postremò addit Rex (Jacobus Primus) magnum se quidem crimen judicare, defectionem ab Ecclesiâ; sed huic crimini affinem se esse, aut Ecclesiam suam, penitus pernegat: *Non enim fugimus, aiebat ejus Majestas, sed fugamur.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS NEVER BEEN
SEPARATE FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Q. You say that the Church of England did not separate herself from that of Rome; but did she not separate herself from the *Universal Church*? and (as St. Augustine says against the Donatist Schismatics) *Ecclesia quæ non communicat cum omnibus gentibus, non est Ecclesia* ¹.

A. The Church of England never separated herself from *any* Catholic Church, much less

from *the* Catholic Church: on the contrary, she ^{CHAP. VIII.} *reformed* herself, in order to become again *more* truly² and soundly *Catholic*, both in doctrine and discipline; and so far from not *communicating* with the Catholic Church, she declares, that ‘Except a man believe faithfully the Catholic faith, he cannot be saved:’ she acknowledges the authority ^{Art. xx.} of the Catholic Church, she prays daily for its ‘good estate:’ she believes nothing that the Catholic Church has rejected, and rejects nothing that it believes: she is United in faith, hope, and charity, with every member of it, under Christ the Head of the Church³; and she admits the ^{Above, p. 3.} Baptism and Holy Orders of the Church of *Rome*, and thus communicates with her⁴: and as for the comparison with the *Donatists*, it is much more applicable to a communion like that of Rome, which limits the Catholic Church exclusively to its own body, which⁵ iterates the Sacrament of Baptism, and repeats Holy Orders, as the Donatists did; and separates herself from the Catholic Church, by making *new Articles of Faith*, thus *in fact ex-* ^{Above, p. 199—201} *communicating herself* while in words she excommunicates others⁶.

¹ S. AUG. iii. 2511. ix. 549.

² DR. HORN’S Preface to his discourse at the Conference at Westminster Abbey, 1559; Strype, Annals, i. p. 11. —465; Cardwell’s Conferences, p. 55; Bp. JEWELL, Apol. p. 170, 1591. Accessimus quantum maximè potuimus ad Ecclesiam Apostolorum . . . Nec tantum doctrinam nostram sed etiam precum publicarum formam ad illorum ritus direximus. See above, Pt. ii. ch. v.

On this subject see the important and authoritative statement made in the letter written, in the name of Henry VIII., by TUNSTALL, Bishop of Durham, to Cardinal Pole, July 13, 1536. (Bp. Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, vol. iii.

PART II. pt. ii. Records, No. 52, p. 163, ed. Oxf. 1829)

Ye pre-suppose the King's grace to be *swerved* from the unity of Christ's Church : and that in taking upon him the title of supreme head of the Church of England, he intendeth to *separate his Church of England from the Unity of the whole body of Christendom*.

His full purpose and intent is, to see the laws of Almighty God purely and sincerely preached and taught, and Christ's faith, without blot, kept and observed in his realm ; *and not to separate himself or his realm anywise from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same* ; and to *redeem* his Church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers heretofore *usurped* therein into the Christian state that all Churches of all realms were at the *beginning*, and to abolish and clearly put away such *usurpations* as heretofore the Bishops of Rome have, by many undue means, increased to their great advantage. So that no man therein can justly find any fault at the King's so doinge, seeing he reduceth all things to that estate, that is conformable to those auncient decrees of the Church, which the Bishop of Rome (at his creation) solemnly doth profess to observe hymself

By which (Councils) ye should have perceived that the Church of Rome had never of old such a monarchie, as of late it hath usurped. And if ye will say, that those places of the gospel, that ye do allege in your book, do prove it, then must ye grant also that the Council of Nice and others did erre, which ordained the contrary. And the Apostles also, in their Canons, did ordain, that al ordering of Priests, consecrating of Bishops, and all matters spirituall, shuld be finished within the Diocese, or at uttermost within the Province where the parties dwelle.

Now it is not like that the four first chief Councils General would have ordained so as they did, if the gospel, or the scripture, had been to the contrary. And where ye in your book much do stick to common custom of the Church, surely after Christ, above a thousand year, the custome was to the contrary, that now is used by the Bishop of Rome.

And to assure you of my mind what I do thinke ; surely whosoever shall go about, by the primatie of Peter, which

was in *preaching* the word of God, to establishe the *worldly* *authoritie* of the Bishop of Rome, which he now claimeth in diverse realms, in *worldly* things so perfect temporal, shall no more couple together than light and darkness. . . .

Wherefore since the King's grace goeth about to reform his realm, and reduce the Church of England into that state, that both this realm and all others were in at the *beginning* of the faith, and many hundred years after ; if any prince or realm will not follow him, let them do as they list ; he doth nothing but stablisheth such laws as were in the beginning, and such as the Bishop of Rome professeth to observe. Wherefore, neither the Bishop of Rome himself, nor any other prince, ought of reason to be discontent therewith.

³ CASAUBONI Epistolæ, p. 491. Roterodami, 1709. Didicit Rex (he is speaking of King James I.) è lectione Sacræ Scripturæ (neque aliter Patres olim sentiebant ad unum omnes) veram et οὐσιώδη Ecclesiæ formam esse, ut audiant oves Christi vocem sui Pastoris, et ut Sacramenta administrentur ritè et legitimè, quomodo videlicet Apostoli præiverunt, et qui illos proximè sunt secuti. Quæ hâc ratione sunt institutæ Ecclesiæ, necesse est ipsas multiplici *communione* inter se esse devinctas. Uniuntur in capite suo Christo, qui est fons vitæ, in quo vivunt omnes, quos Pater elegit pretioso sanguine ipsius redimendos, et vitâ æternâ gratis donandos. Uniuntur unitate *fidei et doctrinæ*, in iis utique capitibus, quæ sunt ad salutem necessaria ; unica enim salutaris doctrina, unica in cœlos via. Uniuntur *conjunctione animorum et verâ charitate* charitatisque officiis, maximè autem precum mutuarum. Uniuntur denique *spei* ejusdem *communione*, et promissæ hæreditatis expectatione.

⁴ Abp. BRAMHALL, ii. 35.

⁵ *Rebaptizare Catholicum, immanissimum scelus*, says St. Augustine, Ep. xxiii. The severe censures directed by the Church against *Iteration of Baptism*, and of *Holy Orders*, may be seen in BINGHAM, XII. v. XVI. i. 4. XVII. v. 16. If it be alleged that the *Iteration of Baptism* specified in the text, is not, in all cases, strictly speaking, *Iteration*, as being in some cases accompanied with the use of the *conditional form*, '*Si non es baptizatus*,' &c., a reply may be brought to this allegation from the CATECHISMUS ROMANUS itself (ex Decreto Concil. Trid. Pii V. P. M. jussu editus) P. ii. c. ii. Qu. 43. It will

PART II. there be seen that the *conditional* form may *not* be used *except* in those cases when *diligent enquiry* has been made *whether* baptism has been administered or no,—Alexandri Papæ auctoritate in illis tantum permittitur, de quibus *re diligenter perquisitâ* dubium relinquitur an Baptismum rite susceperint. Aliter verò *nunquam fas est*, etiam cum adjunctione (i. e. of the conditional form) Baptismum alicui administrare. Such are the words of the Trent Catechism. Now, by the Council of Trent, Sess. vii. de Bapt. iv. it is decreed, that if any one affirms “that *baptism* administered even by *heretics* in the name of the Trinity with the intention of doing what the Church does, is not true baptism, let him be anathema.” And *yet* (as is affirmed in the evidence of Archbp. MAGEE, in Phelan’s Digest, i. 291.) “The Romanist Clergy in Ireland in *many cases* administer Baptism a *second* time to those who conform from Protestantism to their communion;” and the following precept is given to the Clergy of France by the Vicar General of one of the Bishops, (Dieulin, Guide des Curés, Lyon, 1844, p. 624. 3rd edition. Le Protestantisme de nos jours ayant dégénéré en pur rationalisme, au point que la plupart de ses ministres ne croient ni à la Trinité ni à la divinité de Jésus Christ, on est fondé à craindre que, mettant leurs doctrines in pratique, ils n’altèrent la forme du Sacrement, et ne baptisent au nom du Père, du Fils et du Saint-Esprit; *c’est pourquoi* il est *généralement prudent* de *réitérer* le Sacrement de *baptême* aux hérétiques qui rentrent dans le sein de l’Eglise. The doctrine of the Council of Trent, (Sess. vii.) that the *intention* of the Minister is of the *essence* of the Sacrament, appears to render its iteration necessary. See, the perplexities of the Tridentine Divines on this subject, stated by Sarpi, lib. ii.

CASAUBON, Ibid. p. 494, col. 2. Et vetus quidem Ecclesia, ut refractarios *Donatistas* ad suam communionem revocaret, etiam commodis temporalibus Episcoporum resipiscentium, et aliorum quoque, admirabili charitate prospicere solita. *Romana* verò Ecclesia, ut gratiam cum Anglicanâ redintegraret, fulmina primò bullarum, deinde vim, modò apertam, modò occultam adhibuit; proditores nefarios suscepti hic parricidii manifestos gremio suo excepit, et nunc cùm maximè fovet; sententiam ex eâdem causâ passos martyri-

bus adscribit, et eorum innocentiam contra divina omnia CHAP. VIII.
humanaque jura quotidie propugnat. Ipse CARDINALIS BEL-
LARMINUS nuper, ut REGEM serenissimum alliceret, istud miræ
efficaciæ ad persuadendum argumentum adhibuit, '*Angliæ
regnum ad Papam pertinere; et Regem Angliæ Romani Pon-
tificis etiam in temporalibus esse subditum, atque feudatarium.*'
Omitto alias et Regis et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, qua veteres,
qua novas querelas, minimè hoc loco commemorandas. See
above, p. 158-9. For a further parallel between Romanism
and Donatism, see BRAMHALL, ii. 106.

⁶ FIRMILIAN, in S. Cyprian, Ep. p. 228. Bishop of Cæsa-
rea in Cappadocia, to Pope Stephanus, when he had excom-
municated the Asiatic and African Churches. Lites quantas
parasti per Ecclesias mundi! Peccatum quàm magnum tibi
exaggerasti quando te a tot gregibus scidisti! Excidisti
enim te ipsum. Noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est verè
schismaticus, qui se à communione Ecclesiasticæ unitatis
Apostatam fecerit.

Q. But can it be said that the Church of Eng-
land *communicat cum omnibus gentibus*, which was
the sign and test of a true Church, cited from St.
Augustine?

A. As was before stated, the Church of Eng-
land communicates in *faith* and *prayers* with the
whole world. If she does *not* perform all those
practical offices of communion with other Churches,
which one Church was enabled to discharge to
another in the time of St. Augustine, we must bear
in mind that the difficulties of *actual* communion
are now much greater than at that period, when
almost all Christendom was under the same civil
government, and the members of European, Asi-
atic, and African Churches, were *fellow-citizens* as
well as *fellow-Christians*, speaking one or two
languages only, whereas now there are thirty
different kingdoms and states in Europe alone,
with nearly as many languages as countries¹.

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Further, we must remember, that the most *Catholic* of all things is TRUTH; (whence the word *Catholic* is *opposed* by St. Augustine² and the other fathers of the Church to what is *false* and *heretical*;) and that therefore, if the Church of England holds fast *the Truth*, she is united to the Catholic Church. “If we *walk* in the *light*, we have *fellowship* one with another.” We must also bear in mind that *true Catholic* communion is communion with the *past* as well as with the *present*; and the Church of England communicates in doctrine, discipline, and sacraments, with the Catholic Church from *the beginning*; and thus *she* communicates with the *primitive* and *apostolic* Church of *Rome*³; whereas the *present* Romish Church, by her corrupt and new doctrines, has, as far as they go, put herself out of communion with the *Truth*, with the *present Catholic Church*, and also with *her former Catholic self*.

1 Tim.iii. 15.

Above,
p. 5, 6.

1 John i. 7.

¹ CASAUBON, Epist. p. 492, 3. col. 1. Distractionem Imperii distractio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ est secuta; et illa omnia paullatim cessarunt, quæ modò dicebamus conservandæ uni-
oni, et communioni exteriori corporis Catholici apprime servi-
visse. See also CASAUBON, Exc. Bar. xvi. 637.

² S. AUG. Quæst. in S. Matth. xi. *Boni Catholici* sunt qui et *fidem integram* servant et bonos mores.

³ Sir R. TWISDEN, p. 196. Upon the whole, it is so absolutely false, that the Church of England made a departure from *the Church*, which is “the *Pillar and Ground of the TRUTH*,” that I am persuaded it is impossible to prove that she did make the separation from the *Roman* itself; but that, having declared in a *lawful Synod* certain opinions held by some in her communion to be no articles of faith; and having, according to the precedent of former times, and the power which God had placed in her, redressed particular *abuses* crept into her, the Pope and his adherents would needs interpret this a departing from the *Faith*. But a

St. Augustine said in a dispute with a Donatist, (c. lit. Petil. CHAP. IX.
ii. 85,) *utrum schismatici nos simus, an vos, non ego, nec tu, sed CHRISTUS interrogetur*. See also BRAMHALL, i. 257. ii. 61—63, 143.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BISHOP OF ROME HAS NO SUPREMACY,
SPIRITUAL OR TEMPORAL, IN THESE REALMS.

Q. ALTHOUGH the Church of England is united in origin, doctrine, and discipline, with the Catholic Church, and although she is not, *as* the Church of *England*, dependent on that of *Rome*, yet is not the Bishop of Rome the *successor of St. Peter*? and did not our Lord give to that Apostle *universal* supreme authority over His Church? and has not, therefore, the Bishop of Rome authority over the Church of England *as* a part of the *Catholic Church*?

A. Although we should allow that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome¹, and not rather of Antioch², and that the Bishop of Rome is the successor of St. Peter, and that he inherits by *office*³ what was given to St. Peter in *person*, for a special purpose, (see below, p. 239,) yet we are clear that Christ gave no pre-eminent power to St. Peter over his brother Apostles; but that *all*³ the Apostles were *equal* in the *quality* of their *mission, commission, power, and honour*.

¹ S. IREN. ap. Euseb. H.E. v. c. 6. Θεμελιώσαντες καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι (St. Peter and St. Paul τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (of Rome) Δίνω τὴν τῆς ἐπίσκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν.

Bp. BEVERIDGE, p. 389, (art. xxxvii.) brings strong proofs to show that St. Peter was never at Rome, *as Bishop* of that

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particular Church, but in the same manner *as* St. Paul was at Rome, viz. an *Apostle*.

² Abp. BRAMHALL, ii. 160.

The *Secular* Claims have been mentioned above, p. 220—4; the *Spiritual* Claims of the Popedom are thus stated by CARDINAL BELLARMIN, de ROM. PONTIFICE :—Lib. ii. c. 2. Episcopus Romanus in Monarchiâ Ecclesiasticâ Petro succedit : c. 18, habet potestatem constituendi et confirmandi *Episcopos* per *totem Orbem* ; item *deponendi* omnes Episcopos, et injustè depositos restituendi per *totem Orbem* ; c. 18, habet potestatem ferendi *leges* et dispensandi per *universam Ecclesiam* ; c. 20, illi *competit jus* mittendi *legatos* ad alias Ecclesias, qui in ipsius nomine omnia administrent ; c. 21, ex *quâvis Christiani Orbis parte* legitimè ad ipsum *provocari* potest ; ab ejus verò auctoritate *nulla conceditur appellatio* ; c. 31, est CAPUT et SPONSUS Ecclesiæ. Lib. iv. c. 16, habet potestatem *ferendi leges* quæ *conscientias* obligent ; c. 24, Omnis ordinaria Episcoporum potestas ab eo descendit.

³ S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Ecclesiæ, p. 107. Hoc erant cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus ; pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis. CASAUBON, Exc. Bar. 662.

BARROW, Pope's Supremacy, i. p. 57. Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 153. Whether a new Apostle was to be ordained, (Acts i.) or the office of Deaconship to be erected, (Acts vi.) or fit persons to be delegated for the ordering of the Church, as Peter and John, Judas and Silas, (Acts viii. and xv.) or informations to be heard, against Peter himself, (Acts xi.) or weightier questions, of the calling of the Gentiles, circumcision, and the law of Moses, to be determined, we find the *supremacy* in the *College of the Apostles*.

Bp. TAYLOR, x. p. 178. Bp. BULL, ii. 295.

Q. But does not St. Peter appear in Holy Scripture as taking the *lead* of the Apostles, and speaking in their behalf? and is he not designated by titles of special dignity in the writings of the early Fathers of the Church?

A. Yes, doubtless he is ; as are some of the other Apostles, especially St. Paul¹, who “had the care of all the Churches.” But we must not confound *primacy* with *supremacy*. St. Peter

² 2 Cor. xi. 28.

often appears as *first in order* among his brethren, CHAP. IX.
 but never as *higher in place* than the rest of the
 Apostles; as *Primus inter pares*, not as *summus*
supra inferiores ².

¹ Thus S. AUG. iii. 2313, *Ipse Caput et Princeps Apostolorum*, speaking not of St. Peter, but of St. Paul. Again, he says, x. 256, (Paulus) tanti Apostolatús meruit principatum. So S. AMBROSE, de Spir. Sanct. ii. 13. *Nec Paulus inferior Petro*:—cum primo quoque facile conferendus et nulli secundus; nam qui se imparem nescit, facit æqualem. So Petrus Cluniacus, (A.D. 1147.) contr. Petrobus. Bibl. Patr. Colon. xiii. 221, 2, calls St. Paul “*Summus post Christum Ecclesiæ Magister* :” and thus both St. Peter and St. Paul are called Κορυφαῖοι in the same sentence by EUTHYM. ZYG. Præf. ad S. Luc. Δουκᾶς Παύλῳ τῷ Κορυφαίῳ συναρμοσθεὶς καὶ συνέκδημος, καθάπερ δὴ καὶ Πέτρον τοῦ Κορυφαίου Μάρκος· and all the Apostles are called Κορυφαῖοι by THEOPHYLACT, in S. Luc. x. εὐρήσομεν τὰς δώδεκα πηγὰς τοὺς κορυφαίους λέγω τοὺς δώδεκα Ἀποστόλους. See also CASAUBON, Exerc. Baron. xv. 327, 8. and xvi. 658.

² Abp. POTTER, on the Church, ch. iii. p. 80, note.

BARROW, Pope’s Supremacy, p. 35, on the question, What St. Peter’s primacy was?

Q. What, then, are we to say to the words of Christ to St. Peter, “*Verily I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church*?” Matt. xvi. 18.

A. First, that although in a certain sense the Church may be said to be built on St. Peter ¹, as confessing Christ in the name of the other Apostles, and so, through them, of the whole Christian world, and thus showing the UNITY ² of the Church, and that its foundation is the true Apostolic FAITH ³ confessed with one mind and one mouth, yet the Church is built *not* on St. Peter, but on CHRIST; for “*other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, JESUS CHRIST*,” “Who Isa. xxviii. 16. xxxiii. 16. Ps. cxviii. 22. Matt. xxi. 42. 1 Cor. iii. 11. Ephes. ii. 20. iv. 8. 11.

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Rev. xxi. 14.

¹ ORIGEN, in Matt. l. c. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα ἐκείνον Πέτρον νομίζεις οἰκοδομείσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσais περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκάστου τῶν Ἀποστόλων;

S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccles. 'in *typo unitatis.*' Pacian, Epist. iii. Ad Petrum locutus est Dominus: ad unum ideo ut *unitatem* fundaret *ex uno*; mox idipsum *in commune* præcipiens. S. AUG. Sermon. ccxxxii. Petrus respondit, *unus* pro *omnibus*, quia *unitas* in *omnibus*.

² S. AUGUST. v. 3757. Sermon. ccxcv. Quando Christus ad *unum* loquitur *Unitas* commendatur.—v. 1013. Sermon. cxlvii. In *uno* Petro figurabatur *unitas omnium* bonorum Pastorum.—v. 595. Petrus Apostolus *unicæ Ecclesiæ typus*. Sermon. lxxvi.

S. AUGUST. iii. 2438. iv. 835. 1314. S. CHRYSOSTOM, ii. 555.

RAINFOLDS' Conference with Hart. London, 1598, chap. ii. Div. i. As the confession of Peter touching Christ showed their common faith by the mouth of one: so the answer of Christ directed unto one, continued that blessing that should be common to them all. And this is declared by the Holy
Eph. ii. 20. Scripture; which to the Ephesians (members of the Church) saith that "they are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets," not of Peter only, but of the Apostles, who lay the same foundation 1 Cor. iii. 10. (all) that Peter
Rev. xxi. 14. did, and thereupon are called (all of them) *foundations*; and the Church, relying upon their doctrine, that is the Christian faith, (the only and sure foundation of the Church,) may be justly said to be built on them, even as well on all of them as on Peter.

S. AUGUSTINE, Retractat. i. xxi. thus speaks of the interpretation of this passage: Dixi in quodam loco de Apostolo Petro, quod in *illo* tanquam in petrâ fundata sit Ecclesia; sed scio me postea sæpissimè sic exposuisse ut super Hunc

intelligeretur Quem confessus est Petrus dicens, *Tu es filius Dei vivi*: ac sic Petrus ab hac Petrâ appellatus *personam Ecclesiæ figuraret*, quæ super hanc Petram ædificatur, et accepit claves regni cœlorum. Non enim dictum est illi, *Tu es Petra*, sed, *Tu es Petrus*. Petra autem erat CHRISTUS, quem confessus Petrus, sicut tota Ecclesia confitetur, dictus est Petrus. Iterum autem duarum interpretationum quæ probabilior est, eligat lector. Other interpreters understand *Petra* of the *faith* or *confession* of Peter, as for instance, S. AMBROSE de Incarn. Dom. i. v. *Fides* Ecclesiæ est fundamentum; non enim de *carne* Petri sed de *fide* dictum est quia “portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt.” It will be perceived on consideration, that these interpretations (which are examined by CASAUBON, Exc. Baron. xv. p. 344, 345.) do in fact run into each other.

CHAP. IX.

Q. But is not St. Peter called by our Lord the *Rock* of His Church, in the words just cited?

A. No. St. Peter was Πέτρος, *a stone*¹; and hence he and the other Apostles with him are called in Scripture the *Twelve Foundation Stones* of the Church; hence St. Paul speaks of himself as “having laid the foundation, as a wise master-builder” of “God’s building,” but CHRIST was ἡ Πέτρα, *the Rock*², out of which St. Peter and they were *hewn*, and on which they were *built*. *Tu es Petrus, quia* EGO PETRA, as St. Augustine explains the words, *neque enim*, he says, *à Petro Petra, sed à Petrâ Petrus*; and again, *Petrus ædificatur super Petram, non Petra super Petrum*².

John i. 42.
Rev. xxi. 14.
θεμέλιοι
λίθοι.

1 Cor. iii. 10.

Isa. li. 1.
xxviii. 16.
xxxiii. 16.

¹ CASAUB. Exerc. Baron. p. 349, 341. Si vocum proprietatem respiciamus, probavimus aliud esse Πέτρον aliud Πέτρων. ELMSL. Œd. Col. 1590. BLOMP. Æsch. Pers. 466.

² S. AUGUST. Sermon. cclxx. Non supra Petrum sed supra Petram quam confessus est ædificatur Ecclesia.—Sermon. lxxvi. Tu es Petrus quia Ego Petra, neque enim à Petro Petra, sed à Petrâ Petrus. Bp. ANDREWES, Tortura Torti, p. 234. CRANKHORPE, Def. Eccl. Angl. p. 113.

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It is to be regretted that the French word *Pierre* is applied both to the *person* and the *thing*, and thus gives rise to confusion between them.

Q. But did not our Lord use (not the Greek, but) the Syro-Chaldaic language in His speech to St. Peter, in which there is no such difference of *genders* as between *Petrus* and *Petra*?

A. He did; but this objection, from the character of the Syriac tongue, as has been shown; has no weight¹; and we must remember, that St. Matthew's *Greek* account of our Lord's speech is *divinely inspired*, and must be understood in its literal and grammatical sense, and in that sense in which it has been always understood by the Church, and which has been now expressed.

¹ RAINOLDS' Conf. with Hart, pp. 23, 24. CASAUBON, Exc. Baron, 341, 342. Bp. BEVERIDGE, on xxxviii Article, vol. ii. p. 369, ed. Oxf.

Matt. xvi.
19.

Q. But what do you say to the words which follow: "*And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven?*" was not the *Power of the Keys*, as it is called, (see above, p. 118,) here given by Christ to Peter? and in him to his successors, the Bishops of Rome?

Matt. xviii.
17, 18. See
above,
p. 118—120.

A. Yes, but not *more so* than to the rest of the Apostles. Christ gave that power to the *Church*, when He said, "Tell it to *the Church*; but if he neglect to hear *the Church*, let him be unto thee as an heathen;" and having said these words, He proceeded to declare by *whom* this power was to be exercised, viz. by *all His Apostles* and their successors 'even to the end of the world.' "Verily

I say unto you, Whatsoever *ye* shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever *ye* shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven:" and again, after His Resurrection, "He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive *ye* the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins *ye* remit, they are remitted; and whose soever sins *ye* retain, they are retained." It would be a contradiction of these words, to say that the Power of the Keys was given *specially* to St. Peter and his *successors*; and it is the concurrent language ¹ of all Christian Antiquity that he received that power as a figure of the *Church* in her *Unity* as *all* the Apostles did in her *Universality*. It was not one *man* in the Church, but *the Church* in one man which received the keys; and our Lord's words were addressed to *Peter*, as representing by his Faith, by his Office, and by his Acts, *all the Apostles and their Successors*, as one of the Bishops of Rome, Leo the Great², says; and St. Ambrose³, *In beato Petro claves has regni cœlorum cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes*.

John xx. 22.

¹ Cor. v. 4.² Cor. ii. 10.

¹ TERTULLIAN, Scorpiac. 10. Memento claves hic Dominum Petro et per illum *Ecclesiæ* reliquisse. S. CYPRIAN, de Unit. Eccles. p. 107. Apostolis *omnibus* post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuit.—p. 108. Ecclesia una est, in quâ Episcopatus unus est cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. S. HIERON. c. Jovinian. lib. i. Super omnes *ex æquo* Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur. Dices, super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat et *cuncti* claves regni cœlorum accipiant. S. BASIL, Const. Monast. 22. πᾶσι τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις παρέχει ἴσην ἐξουσίαν καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ δεσμεῖν ἅπαντας καὶ λύειν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος. S. AMBROSE, in Psalm xxxviii. Quod Petro dicitur, cæteris Apostolis dicitur. S. AUGUST. Serm. xli. Nunquid istas claves accepit

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Petrus, et Paulus non accepit? Petrus accepit, et Joannes et Jacobus non accepit et cæteri Apostoli? Aut non sunt istæ in Ecclesiâ claves ubi peccata quotidie dimittuntur? Serm. ccxcv. Has claves non *homo unus* sed *unitas* accepit *Ecclesiæ*. Vide et iii. p. 2470. ANSELM, in loc. Potestas clavium non solum Petro data est, sed, sicut Petrus unus pro omnibus respondit, sic Christus in Petro *omnibus* dedit. CASAUBON, Exerc. Baron. pp. 344—347. Bp. ANDREWES, Tortura Torti, p. 42. Petro promissæ claves non tamen ut Petro huic homini, quin Petro Ecclesiæ personam gerenti. Vide et pp. 62—64. BARROW, Pot. Clav. p. 47. Promissum commune est et ad Ecclesiam totam ejusque rectores pertinet: nec enim *ocasio* promissi Petrum unicè spectabat; neque *causa* propter quam promitteretur; nec alligabatur uni Petro promissi *materia*, nec in Petrum solum derivatus est ejus *effectus*. See above, p. 237—239.

² S. LEO, A.D. 450. Serm. iii. p. 53, ed. 1700. Transivit in *alios Apostolos* jus potestatis illius et ad *omnes* Ecclesiæ Principes decreti hujus constitutio commeavit. Sed non frustra uni commendatur, quod omnibus intimetur. Serm. de Nativ. Hæc clavium potestas ad *omnes* etiam Apostolos et Ecclesiæ Præsules est translata. Quod autem sigillatim Petro sit commendata, ideo factum est quod Petri exemplum omnibus Ecclesiæ Pastoribus fuit propositum. And again, Serm. ii. p. 51. Christus etsi multis Pastoribus curam suarum ovium delegavit, Ipse tamen dilecti gregis custodiam non reliquit; and p. 52, he addresses the Bishops present as his fratres and consacerdotes. See also vol. i. p. 217; the notes, vol. ii. p. 434, ed. 1700.

³ S. AMBROSE, Ep. lxiii. quoted by Barrow de Pot. Clav. p. 49.

John xxi.
15, 61.

Q. But did not Christ give *supreme* power to St. Peter when He said to him, *Feed my sheep*?

A. No; these words were not so much *verba ordinandi*, as *verba hortandi*¹; and did not affect the

John xx. 21, *general* commission before given by Christ to all His Apostles in a solemn act of consecration.

Whence St. Paul says to the presbyters at Ephesus, “Take heed to the *flock* over which the Holy

Acts xx. 28.

Ghost has made you overseers, *to feed the Church* CHAP. IX.
of God, which He hath purchased with His own
blood;" and St. Peter, "The elders I exhort, who 1 Pet. v. 1. 2.
am also an elder, *Feed the flock of God* which is
among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by
constraint, but willingly." Wherefore, as St.
Augustine says, *quum Petro dicitur, ad omnes*
*dicitur, Pasce oves Meas*².

¹ CASAUBON, Exerc. Baron. p. 344—347.

² S. AUG. de Agone Christiano, c. 30. Tract. in Joann.
xlvii. Christus, quod pastor est, dedit et membris suis. Nam
et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et cæteri Apostoli pas-
tores, et boni Episcopi pastores. See also v. pp. 345. 969.
col. 3. 1763. See St. LEO in note to preceding question. Bp.
FELL's note on S. Cyprian, de Un. Eccl. p. 106. HAMMOND'S
Works, i. p. 516. BARROW, Pope's Supremacy, p. 68. pp.
37. 39.

Q. Since, as has been before said (p. 96, 97),
the best commentary on a law is contemporary and
successive *practice*, what conclusion do we derive
from *it* with respect to the alleged supremacy of
St. Peter?

A. As it is certain *à priori*, that St. Peter *could*
have no supremacy over the other Apostles, from
the fact that Christ did not authorize, but did
plainly *prohibit*, such a supremacy, when He told
His Apostles, "*that the kings of the Gentiles exer-*
cise lordship over them (the Gentiles), but it should
not be so with" them; and again, "*whosoever will*
be great among you, let him be your minister;"
and "*he that is greatest among you shall be your*
servant;" and that they had "*One Master, Jesus*
Christ, and that they were Brethren;" and again,
when He spake to them of *twelve* thrones, and
not *one* throne, thus placing them on an *equality*;
Matt. xx. 25.
xxii. 11.
Luke xxii.
25.
Matt. xx. 26.
Mark x. 43.
Matt. xxiii.
8. 10.
Matt. xix.
28.
Luke xxii.
30.
Rev. xxi. 14.

PART II. and the wall of the Church in the Revelation has
 S. Chrysos. "twelve foundations, and in them the names of the
 in loc. *twelve* Apostles;" so it is also clear, *à posteriori*,
 Acts xv. 13. that St. James, who took the lead at a Council,
 that of Jerusalem, at which St. Peter was present,
 and in which St. Peter took part as one of the
speakers, knew nothing of such a supremacy in
 St. Peter; that St. Paul knew nothing of it, who
 2 Cor. xi. 5. said that "*he himself was not a whit behind the*
 28. *very chiefest Apostles*;" and that he had "*the care*
 xii. 11. *of all the Churches*," and who says accordingly,
 1 Cor. vii. 17. "*so I ordain in all the Churches*;" who classes
 Gal. ii. 9. 14. Peter with James and John, who withstood St.
 Peter and rebuked him to his face, and who re-
 bukes certain of the Corinthians for saying, "I
 1 Cor. i. 12. am of *Cephas*;" and that St. Peter himself knew
 nothing of it, who was *sent* by the authority of
 Acts viii. 14. the Apostles to Samaria; and who speaks of "*us the*
 2 Pet. iii. 2. *Apostles*," as his *compeers*, not *inferiors*, and of
 CHRIST, "the living Stone;" and who writes on
 terms of *equality*, and not of *superiority*, as "a
 1 Pet. ii. 5. *brother-Elder*" to Elders. And, to descend to St.
 v. 1. Peter's *Successors*, it is certain also that St. Poly-
 carp¹, Bishop of Smyrna, knew nothing of such
 a supremacy in Pope Anicetus; that Polycrates²,
 Bishop of Ephesus, and the synod of Asiatic
 Bishops, and St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and
 the Council assembled in that city, knew nothing
 of any such supremacy in Pope Victor³; that St.
 Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and the African
 Bishops, knew nothing of it in Pope Stephanus⁴;
 that St. Augustine and the Bishops of Africa
 knew nothing of it in Popes Zosimus and Boni-
 face⁵; and that the *Bishops of Rome themselves*

for six hundred years were so far from knowing any thing of such supremacy as residing in themselves or in any one else, that Pope Gregory the First⁶ denounced the title of *Universal Bishop* as arrogant, wicked, schismatical, blasphemous, and anti-Christian; "*Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat,*" says he, "*Anti-Christum præcurrit.*" (Lib. vii. Epist. xxxiii.)

¹ EUSEB. H. E. v. 23.

² ROUTH, Rel. Sac. i. 370—387.

Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 49. Peter, as you say the first Bishop of Rome, was resisted by Paul the teacher of the Gentiles; Anicetus by Polycarpus, St. John's own scholar; Victor by Polycrates, Irenæus, and all the brethren of Asia; Stephen by Cyprian; Damasus, Syricius, and Anastasius, by Flavianus, and all the Churches of the east of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Illyricum; Innocentius by Cyril; Zosimus and Bonifacius by Augustin and two hundred and sixteen Bishops of Africa.—See p. 123.

³ ROUTH, i. 391—419.

⁴ ROUTH, iii. 90. Compare, on these cases, Euseb. H. E. v. 14. GRABE ad Iren. ii. c. 3. p. 201. See above, p. 168—170. Bp. PEARSON, Annales Cyprianici, pp. 48. 56. ed. Fell.

S. CYPRIAN. in Concil. Carthag. vii. Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, iii. p. 91. Neque enim quisquam nostrum *Episcopum* se *Episcoporum* constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat *omnis Episcopus* pro licentiâ libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium.

HOOKE, VII. XVI. 7. Whereby it appears that among the African Bishops *none* did use such authority over *any* as the Bishop of Rome did afterwards claim over *all*, forcing upon them opinions by main and absolute power.

⁵ CONC. CARTH. iii. 28. CONC. HIPPO. i. 27. CABASSUT. Notit. Concil. cap. XLIX. BINGHAM, IX. I. 11.

⁶ GREGORII MAGNI, Pontificis Romani, Epistolæ, v. 43, ed. Paris, 1705, tom. ii. pp. 771—773. Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam *profano* vocabulo uti consensit; quia

PART II.

videlicet si unus Patriarcha Universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Sed absit hoc, absit à Christiani mente, id sibi velle quempiam arripere, unde fratrum suorum honorem imminuere ex quantulâcunque parte videatur! Propterea Sanctitas vestra neminem unquam Universalem nominet. Si enim hoc dici licenter permittitur, honor Patriarcharum omnium negatur. Ep. v. 20, p. 748. Quis est iste qui contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit? Utinam sine aliorum immi-nutione unus sit qui vocari appetit Universalis! Sed absit à cordibus Christianis nomen illiud *blasphemix* in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur! Ep. vii. 27, p. 873. De eodem superstitioso et superbo vocabulo eum admonere studui, dicens, quia pacem nobiscum habere non posset, elationem prædicti verbi corri-geret, quam primus *Apostata* invenit. Ep. vii. 33, p. 881. Ego fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat vel vocari desiderat in elatione suâ, *Anti-Christum* præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. Nec dispari superbiâ ad errorem ducitur, quia, sicut perversus ille, Deus videri vult super omnes homines; ita quisquis iste est, qui solus sacerdos appellari appetit, super reliquos sacerdotes se extollit.—See also iv. 32. v. 29. vii. 31. 34. ix. 68.

HOOKE, VII. VIII. 9. What the Bishop of Constantinople (i. e. after the Council of Trullo or Quini-Sextum) challenged, and was therein as then refused by the Bishop of Rome (i. e. the title of Universal Bishop), the same the Bishop of Rome, in process of time, obtained for himself; and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upholdeth it by acts and practices much worse.—See VIII. III. 5.

Archbp. LAUD against Fisher, sect. 25. Mauricius being deposed and murdered by Phocas, Phocas conferred on Boniface III. that honour which two of his predecessors (Pelagius and Gregory) had declaimed against as monstrous and blasphemous, if not anti-Christian. BARROW, Pope's Supremacy, p. 122. Bp. OVERALL, Convocation Book, p. 285. Bp. BEVERIDGE on the XXXVIIth ARTICLE. CASAUBON, Exc. BARON. 315—388.

Q. Has then the Bishop of Rome no peculiar

jurisdiction which does not belong to another CHAP. IX.
Bishop?

A. Every Bishop possesses the highest spiritual authority in his own diocese, with respect to the ordinary affairs of his own Church; and all Bishops, *as Bishops*, are equal¹, whatever their dioceses may be. As St. Jerome², the secretary of a Pope (Damasus), says,—*Ubicunque est Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, ejusdem est meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii: potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit*³. On account of the civil eminence of Rome, the Bishop of Rome, as has been before stated (p. 114), anciently enjoyed *precedence* among Bishops, by the Canons of the Catholic Church; but his jurisdiction as Bishop, Metropolitan, and Patriarch, was and is limited to his own Diocese, Province, and Patriarchate, in the same manner as that of every other Bishop, Metropolitan, and Patriarch³.

¹ S. CYPRIAN. Ep. ad Antonian. p. 177. Manente concordie vinculo, et perseverante Ecclesie Catholicæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—Ep. ad Papian. 66. Quis longè est ab humilitate, an ego, an tu qui te Episcopum Episcopi et Judicem Judicis constituis?—Against *appeals* to extra-diocesan authority, Epist. 55. Cum statutum sit ab omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum ut cujusque causa *illic* audiatur ubi est crimen admissum, et cum singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actûs Deo redditurus, oportet utique eos *non circumcursare*, &c.

S. CYPRIAN. Ep. 54. p. 112. Fell. Una Ecclesia, item Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108. Episcopatus unus est cujus à singulis *in solidum* pars tenetur (i. e. ita ut singuli

PART II. omnem pleno jure possideant. Fell). It is to be observed, that *in solidum* is a term of civil law, expressing that every one of the holders has a right to his share without acknowledgment to any one. See above, p. 19, 20.

Archbp. LAUD, Conference with Fisher, p. 166.

Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 60. The Bishop of Rome was *before* the rest in honour and dignity, but not *over* the rest in power and authority. His place was first when the patriarchs met; but his voice was not negative: he was subject both to the decrees of Councils and to the laws of Christian emperors, even in causes ecclesiastical.

BARROW, Pope's Sup. p. 149. The ancients did assert to each Bishop a free, absolute, independent authority, accountable to none on earth in the administration of affairs properly concerning his particular Church.—P. 151. The ancients did hold all Bishops, as to their office (originally according to Divine Institution, or abstracting from human sanctions framed to preserve order and peace), to be *equal*; for that all are successors of the Apostles, all derive their commission and power in the same tenour from God.

One Bishop may exceed another in splendour, wealth, extent of jurisdiction, as one King may surpass another in amplitude of territory; but as all Kings, so all Bishops are equal in office and essentials of power derived from God.

² S. HIERON. ad Evagr. Ep. 85. S. August. ii. p. 310.

³ CREAKANTHORPE, Def. Eccl. Angl. p. 176. Romanus Episcopus ad *paræciam* suam Romanam quâ est *Episcopus*, ad *provinciam* suam Romanam quâ est *Metropolitanus*, ad *diæcesin* suam Romanam quâ est *Patriarcha*, æquè constringitur ac quivis in toto orbe Episcopus, Metropolitanus, aut Patriarcha, seu patriarchalis Primas; et illius censuræ, excommunicationes, judicia, decreta, omnesque omnino episcopales actus quos extra aut ultra istos limites præstare tentat aut exercere, irriti plane sunt et pro nullis habendi.

Q. But it being granted that the Bishop of Rome cannot claim supreme jurisdiction over the Universal Church as a matter of Right, still is it not expedient for the maintenance of *Unity*

in the Church, that it should have One *Supreme* CHAP. IX.
Visible Head?

A. Christ, the Universal Lord of the Church, Above,
pp. 17, 22. and the lover of Unity, never instituted one. Let all the States of the earth be placed under One Civil Ruler, and then let the trial be made. If such a *personal supremacy* was not thought expedient by the Church when the greater part of the civilized world *was* under One Temporal Governor (the Emperor of Rome), it cannot be thought so now, when, as was before said (p. 235), there are about thirty different States and Kingdoms in Europe alone; if it was not desirable at a time when the range of Christendom and of the known world was comparatively narrow, it cannot be so, when the limits of both have been enlarged to a vast extent, and are becoming more and more intricate and comprehensive; and if it was even *condemned* as *anti-Christian*, *before* its effects had been seen, Above,
p. 246—248. it cannot be reasonable to desire it *now*, when the world has had bitter *experience* of its tendency to promote *disunion* instead of *peace*, both in spiritual and secular affairs.

Q. In what respects has this tendency shown itself?

A. The claim of universal *spiritual* headship naturally leads to that of *secular* supremacy, which is indeed essential to render the former reasonable: and the *fact has* been, and *is*, that, in defiance of Reason and Scripture, the Bishop of Rome, on the ground, in the first place, of *spiritual*, and then of *temporal*, *supremacy*, asserts a right to *depose*¹ princes, to *dispose* of their dominions, and to *impose* oaths on their subjects incon- 1 Pet. ii. 13
14. v. 3.
Below,
pt. iii. chaps.
iv. and v.
Above,
p. 222—228.

PART II. sistent with and contrary to their duty to their
1 Pet. ii. 13. lawful sovereign²; and thus does all in his power to annul the obligations of civil allegiance, and to dissolve the bonds of civil society².

¹ Card. BELLARMIN. De Rom. Pontif. v. 7. Omnium consensu hæretici Principes possunt et debent privari suo dominio.

In the words of the bull by which Gregory VII. deposed Henry IV., the Pope claims the right "in terrâ Imperia, Regna, Principatus, et omnium hominum possessiones pro meritis tollere unicuique et concedere." Of the *political* consequences of these principles, see Bp. BARLOW on Papal Power dangerous to Protestant Princes, p. 82—109; and his *Brutum Fulmen*, p. 9—12, p. 174.

GREGORY VII., Hildebrand, was canonized, and on his festival he is thus lauded in the Lesson for the Day, for deposing Henry IV. "Contra Henrici Imperatoris impios conatus fortis per omnia athleta impavidus permansit, seque pro muro domui Israel ponere non timuit; eundem Henricum fidelium communione regnoque privavit." This service was authorized by Pope Benedict XIII. Sept. 25, 1728, and is to be seen in the Paris Breviary of 1842, p. 676.

² PHELAN'S and O'SULLIVAN'S Digest of Evidence on Ireland, pt. ii. p. 21. *Roman Catholic Bishops* are *Peers* of the creation of the Sovereign Pontiff, who claims to be Supreme *Feudal Lord* wherever he has a hierarchy of Bishops or Vicars Apostolic.

Archbp. MAGEE, Digest of Evidence on Ireland, 1826, p. 12, says, "I am not able to explain to myself how the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, under a Protestant King, can consistently preserve the oath of allegiance to the sovereign. *I find myself unable to reconcile the most solemn oath that is taken upon the appointment of a Roman Catholic Bishop, with his allegiance to his sovereign.* It appears to me, that there is an *obligation as deep as that which can grow out of the feeling of Christianity at war with the civil obligation.* I can find in this oath no reservation or circumscription whatsoever.—P. 13. If this disturbing influence exerted on the *Bishop* be carried down through the *Priest*, either from the

nature of *his* oath, or any other way, it must be unnecessary to say, from the close and influential contact into which every officiating Priest is brought with the Roman Catholic population of the country, what the effect must be as to the general loyalty."—The Editors of the Digest say, p. 16: "As the preceding clauses of the oath were so many successive aggressions upon the honour of the Crown and the liberty of the subject, so the last sentence straitens, instead of relaxing, the obligations they impose. It virtually recapitulates the previous pledges; it declares that all things therein contained, the *feudal vassalage* of the Bishop, the *Regal Supremacy of his Lord*, and the duty of extending indefinitely the dominion of the Papacy, shall be maintained more inviolably than ever; and it concludes by making the party abjure all right in his local Prince to infringe on those prerogatives of the Universal Sovereign." Upon the whole, then, we may ask, with Dr. O'Connor, Columbanus, iii. 160, "How can the Bishop's oath be reconciled with the oath of civil allegiance, which excludes all indirect temporal power of the Pope in this realm?"

See also BARROW, Pope's Supr. p. 23. Bp. GIBSON, Codex, p. 117, and above, p. 222—8.

Q. You have spoken of the secular evils of such a headship; what are the *spiritual* ones?

A. It *destroys*¹ Unity in the Church on the plea of *preserving* it. It pretends to be the *Centre of Unity*, but is the *Source of Confusion* to all Christendom. It rejects the wisdom, revokes the judgments, and annihilates the authority of the Universal Church, as represented in General Councils², by its claim to negative and rescind their decrees; it claims infallibility, but not only has it erred grievously³, but it reduces the Church to a perpetual *necessity of erring* by committing it to the uncontrolled will of one *man*; it destroys the Order and Jurisdiction of *Bishops*⁴, by resolving all into its own power; and so dishonours

Above,
p. 225, 226.

PART II.
Gal. i. 1.
ii. 7.
2 Cor. xi. 28.

Above,
p. 178. 225.

Above,
p. 178, 179.
228.

CHRIST, from whom they derive their power, and deprives the Apostles of their legitimate posterity and succession; thus perverting the character of the Church from Apostolic into Papal, and degrading Bishops into its own Vassals, as is evident from the oath now imposed upon Bishops by the Pope of Rome, which fully confirms the prophetic speech of Pope Gregory the First to the Bishops of Greece, "*Si unus universalis est, restat ut vos Episcopi non sitis.*" (Epist. lib. v. 68. tom. ii. p. 984.)

¹ Archbp. LAUD, Sermons, p. 122, London, ed. 1651. While they seeke to tye all Christians to Rome by a divine precept, their ambition of sovereignty is *one* and *maine* cause that Jerusalem, even the whole Church of Christ, is *not at Unity* in itselſe this day.—Ibid. p. 258. The Pope, which Bellarmine hath put into the definition of the Church that there might be one ministerial Head to keepe all in Unity, is *as great as any*, if not *the greatest*, cause of *divided Christianity*.

² Card. BELLARM. De Pontifice. Tota firmitas Conciliorum est à Pontifice. By the bull *In Cænâ Domini*, all who dare appeal from the Pope to a Council are under sentence of excommunication.

³ Pope GREGOR. I., ii. p. 771. Cum fortasse *is in errore perit*, qui *Universalis* dicitur, *nullus jam Episcopus* remansisse in statu Veritatis invenitur. For an enumeration of errors and heretical opinions maintained by individual Bishops of Rome from time to time, see GERHARD, V. p. 407. E Papis, Zephyrinus fuit Montanista, Marcellinus idololatra, Liberius et Felix Adriani. Anastasius communicavit cum Photino, Vigilius fuit Eutychianus, Honorius Monothelita. Compare also BARROW, Pope's Supr. p. 266. BINGHAM, XVI. i. 14. ROUTH, Script. Eccles. ii. 512—516; And even BOSSUET in his *Défense de la Déclaration*; and Hist. Eccl., Paris, 1768, i. p. 342. L'illustre M. BOSSUET donne à ce scandale du Pape Zosime le nom de *chûte terrible* (casus gravis), de même qu'à celui qu'avoit auparavant causé le Pape Libère.

⁴ Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 252. Though the Popes do not abolish the order of Bishops or Episcopacy in the abstract, yet they limit the power of Bishops in the concrete at their pleasure by exemptions and reservations, holding themselves to be the Bishops of every particular see in the world, during the vacancy of it, and making all Episcopal jurisdiction to flow from them, and to be founded in the Pope's laws, because it was but delegated to the rest of the Apostles for a term of life, but resided solely in St. Peter as an Ordinary to descend from him to his successors the Bishops of Rome, and to be imparted by them to other Bishops as their Vicars or Coadjutors, assumed by them into some part of their charge. (Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. i. ii. iv. 23—25.) By this account the Pope must be the Universal or Only Bishop of the world; the Keys must be his gift, not Christ's; and all the Apostles, except St. Peter, must want their successors in Episcopal jurisdiction. What is this but to trample upon Episcopacy, to dissolve the primitive bands of primitive Unity, to overthrow the discipline instituted by Christ, and to take away the line of Apostolical succession? See also BRAMHALL, i. 189. CASAUBON, Exerc. Baron. xiv. p. 280, l. BELLARMIN. de Pontif. iv. xxiv. Christian Inst. iv. 93. KERLE, Preface to HOOKER, I. p. lx. Add to this what the Papacy had done and was daily doing to weaken all notions of independent authority in Bishops, of which proceedings the *full developement* may be seen in the proceeding of the Italian party at Trent.

That all Power of Order is resolved by the Papacy into itself, is clear from the PONTIFICALE ROM. p. 87, ed. Rom. 1818. *Antequam obtinuerit quis Pallium, licet sit consecratus, non sortitur nomen Patriarchæ aut Primatis aut Archiepiscopi, et non licet ei Episcopos consecrare, nec convocare concilium, nec Chrisma conficere, neque Ecclesias dedicare, nec Clericos ordinare.*

Cardinal ZABARELLA, in c. licet extra de electione. Papa invasit omnia jura inferiorum Ecclesiarum, adeo ut inferioris Ordinis Prælati pro nihilo sint; et nisi Deus succurrat, vehementer periclitaturus est status Ecclesiarum.

Q. But since it *cannot* be by the claims of the

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Pope, how, then, *is* the Unity of the Church to be preserved?

Eph. iv.
4—6.

1 Cor. xii. 28.
Eph. iv. 10.
Above, p. 8.
19.

Matt. xviii.
17. 20.
Acts xv. 2.
28. xvi. 4.

¶ St. Paul informs us. "*There is one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism; one God and Father of us all*¹." He does not add, "*One Visible Head*." Let all the members of the Catholic Church be "joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment," let them "walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing," let them be united in the *same Faith*, in the same *Sacraments*, and in the same *Apostolic Discipline and Government*; let them communicate with one another² by means of their lawful *Bishops*, in *National* and in *General Councils*, according to the institution of Christ, and to universal primitive practice; let them all, *each in his own sphere*, "endeavour to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" and they will then enjoy the blessing of *primitive Christian Unity*. But they will never attain this Unity by subjection to *one supreme visible Head*, of which the Primitive Church knew nothing; and especially they cannot expect it from subjection to *such* a supreme visible Head as subverts the Ancient Faith by a New Creed, mutilates the Sacraments, destroys Apostolic government, and sets at nought the authority of the Church in her Synods, and having thus dissolved all the bands of Unity, proceeds to exact an implicit subjection to all these Innovations and Infractions, as an essential condition of Communion with itself, as a test of Church Membership, and as necessary to eternal salvation³. (See also above on this subject, pt. i. ch. ii. & pt. i. ch. ix. at end.)

¹ S. AUG. in Epist. S. Joann. vi. In uno corpore sumus ; CHAP IX.
Unum Caput habemus in Cœlo. TERTULLIAN, De Præscript.
c. 10. Communicatio pacis, appellatio fraternitatis, contes-
seratio hospitalitatis. See the Prayer for UNITY, in the
Form of Prayer and Service for the QUEEN'S ACCESSION.

² RAINOLDS' Conf. with Hart, p. 206. 1598. The wisdom
of God hath committed that chieftie of judgment, not to the
sovereign power of One, but to the common care of many.
For when there was a controversie in the Church of Antioch
about the observation of the law of Moses (Acts xv. 2), they
ordained that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them,
should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and Elders about
that question. So by their common decree the controversie
was ended, the truth of faith kept, and peace maintained in
the Church. After which example the Bishops who suc-
ceeded the Apostles made the like assemblies on like occa-
sions. (Euseb. H. E. v. 14. 21, 22. vii. 26. 28. &c.) So
did Apostles and Apostolic men provide against schisms.
Their wisdom reached not to the policie of one Chief
Judge. See also Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 305.
HOOKER, I. x. 14. IV. XIII. 8. VIII. III. 6.

Bp. CARLETON, de Ecclesiâ, 234—242. Multi Episcopi
unum Episcopatum constituunt. Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. 320.
615. On Councils as means of Unity. BARROW on Unity
of the Church, vi. p. 534—548.

Bp. PATRICK, Sermon on St. Peter's Day, 1687, p. 69.
The Holy Ghost hath told us that there is but one God the
Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him ; and one Lord
Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him (1 Cor.
viii. 6) ; and one God and one Mediator between God and
men, the man Christ Jesus, so that to use any other, is to
fall into a Schism, and break the communion of the Church
of Christ, as they of the Church of Rome have done, both
by this and by changing the ancient Government Discipline
and Faith of the Church ; they *have separated themselves*
from the rest of the Christian world, by usurping universal
jurisdiction, as well as by many other things, and so *broken*
that charity which gives the greatest efficacy to our prayers.

LESLIE, Rev. Charles, Case Stated, &c. p. 208, ed. 1714.
This Universal Supremacy is merely imaginary ; it was never

PART II.

named by Christ, and never was in fact. And so far is it from being the *Centre of Unity*, that the pretence to it has been the *great breach of Unity* among Christian Churches, and is at this day : for this is it which stops the Bishops in the communion of Rome from exercising that authority which Christ has given them over their own flocks, and which was freely exercised by the Bishops in the primitive Church ; and which, if restored, would open the way to that Catholic Communion wherein the true Unity of the Church doth consist.

BINGHAM, XVI. i. 14. The unity of the Church was sufficiently provided for by the agreement of all Churches in the same Faith, and the obligation that lay upon the whole College of Bishops, as equal sharers in one Episcopacy, to give mutual assistance to each other in all things that were necessary to defend the faith, or preserve the unity of the Church entire in all respects, when any assault was made upon it. It was by this means, and *not* by any necessary recourse to any Single, Visible, Standing Head, that anciently the Unity of the Church was preserved.

³ CONCIL. LATERAN. sub Leone X. sess. 10. *De necessitate salutis est omnes Christi fideles Romano Pontifici subesse*, prout Divinæ Scripturæ et Sanctorum Patrum testimonio edocemur, et Constitutione Bonifacii Papæ VIII. quæ incipit *Unam Sanctam* (quam) sacro præsentî Concilio approbante innovamus et approbamus.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. p. 201. Pius the IVth did not only enjoin all ecclesiastics, seculars and regulars, to swear to his new Creed, but he imposed it upon *all Christians* as "*veram fidem Catholicam, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest.*" (Bulla Pii IV. in Act. Concil. Trident. Labbe, Concil. xiv. p. 946. B.)

PART III.

The Church of England in its Civil Relations.

CHAPTER I.

CHURCH AND STATE ONE SOCIETY UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES.

Q. You have spoken of the English Church as independent; but is it not dependent on the State? CHAP. I.

A. No: in the case of a *Christian* community, the words *Church* and *State* designate the *same thing* under different *relations*. The term *Church* describes the Whole National Community in its *religious* capacity, the *State* describes it in its *civil*. *Church* and *State* are *duæ formaliter, sed una materialiter*; they are *different names* of the *same body politic*¹, as *Christian* and *Citizen* are different names of one human body.—And as an individual's *Christianity* does not depend on his *citizenship*, though his happiness as a *Christian* greatly depends on his conduct as a *Citizen*; so the existence of the Community as a *Church* does not

PART III. depend on its constitution as a State, though its efficiency and prosperity as a Church is greatly affected by its civil acts as a State.

¹ HOOKER, VIII. I. 5. The Church and Commonwealth are names which import things really different, but those thing are accidents, and such accidents as may and *should always* dwell lovingly together in one subject, (HOOKER, VIII. III. 6.) in a free Christian state or kingdom, where one and the selfsame people are the Church and the Commonwealth.

Archbp. LAUD, Sermons, 1651. Sermon i. on Ps. cxxii. 6, 7. When you sit down to consult, you must not forget the Church; and when we kneel down to pray, we must not forget the State: both are but *One Jerusalem*.—P. 9. Both Commonwealth and Church are collective bodies, made up of many into one; and both so near that *the same men which in a temporal respect make the Commonwealth, do in a spiritual make the Church*: so one name of the mother city serves both, that are joined up into one; and p. 35, *The same men which, in respect of one allegiance, make the Commonwealth do, in respect of one Faith, make the Church*.

SARAVIA, de Honore Præsulibus debito, p. 71. Sunt qui Ecclesiam in Republicâ esse putant tanquam ejus sit quædam pars, et quod *Ipsa tota Respublica non sit Ecclesia*. Verum hæc distinctio in Christiano populo locum non habet. Ubi totus aliquis populus nomen dedit Christo, et nemo illic sit qui Christi Baptismo non sit tinctus, Ecclesia est Respublica, et Respublica est externa et visibilis quædam Ecclesia. See below, Abp. BRAMHALL, p. 279.

CASAUON, de Lib. Eccles. ii. Epist. p. 176. Ex eo tempore quando Christianismi professio vulgò fuit suscepta, *qui Rempublicam* constituabat *populus idem etiam Ecclesia* fuit.

G. I. VOSSIUS, De Jure Magistratûs in Rebus Ecclesiasticis, p. 863, ed. 1701. Potestas eorum qui publicâ sunt vocatione instructi vel *civilis* est vel *Ecclesiastica*. Civilis procurat humanum bonum uti *εὐδαιμονίαν πολιτικήν*. Atque hoc respectu Societas hominum non *Ecclesia* sed *Respublica* vocatur. Potestas vero Ecclesiastica procurat Spirituale

bonum uti beatitudinem cœlestem ; atque eo respectu hæc ipsa *Societas* non jam *Reipublicæ* sed *Ecclesiæ* nomen obtinet.

BURKE, vol. x. p. 43. An *alliance* between Church and State in a Christian Commonwealth is, in my opinion, an idle and a fanciful speculation. An *alliance* is between *two* things that are in their nature distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian Commonwealth the *Church and State are one and the same thing*. The Church has been always divided into two parts, the *clergy* and the laity ; of which the *laity* is as much an essential integral part, and has as much its *duties* and *privileges* as the clerical member, and in the rule, order, and government of the Church has its share.

Q. You say that Church and State are different names of the same thing ; and that the *same men* who in *spiritual* respects make the *Church* do in *temporal* make the *State* ; can you explain by what *process* this comes to be so ?

A. Let us suppose, for example, the condition of the Roman Empire when Christianity was first preached. The State was heathen, and its citizens were Pagans. The Gospel was taught, many Roman citizens became Christians, and at length the Emperor himself professed the faith of Christ. But the citizens did not *lose* any of their *civil* rights, nor the Emperor¹ his *imperial*, by embracing Christianity ; but both brought with them their secular privileges and functions into their new religious condition. And thus the Roman *State* became a Christian *Church* ; and so it continued long to be. And when the Roman Empire was *broken up* into several nations, each nation became not only an independent State but also a National Church. And every heathen nation which now embraces Christianity becomes a Church in

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the same manner as the Roman State did. And thus *every Christian Nation* is both a Church and a State, according to the relations in which it is viewed; not, however, that it is in any case a *perfect* Church (for *no visible* Church is perfect) any more than it is a *perfect* State, but one Church varies greatly from another in soundness, and from itself at various times.

¹ On the other hand, the Emperor gained *new rights* and was called to *new duties*, as Governor of the Community, not only as a State, but as a Church; or as Bp. ANDREWES expresses it, Tortura Torti, p. 377, Cæsari, si Christianus fit, ut Constantino, idem juris in Ecclesiam est in Novo Testamento quod in Vetere Josiæ fuit. Tum Reges Ecclesiæ gubernacula capessant cum conversi ad fidem fuerint. *Reddenda enim Cæsari quæ Cæsaris sunt.* Cæsaris sunt quæ Cæsari debentur. Debentur autem Cæsari *Christiano* quæcunque olim a Populo Dei sub Veteri Lege Regibus suis officia vel debita vel persoluta sunt—non in *Regni* rebus solum sed etiam *Ecclesiæ*.

Q. But may not a National Community acting as a State divest itself of its religious character, and exist only in its civil one?

A. No doubt it may *de facto*, by utterly apostatizing from Christianity, and relapsing into heathenism; but no Community¹ can *prosper* without religion any more than an Individual can; *non aliunde beata Civitas, aliunde homo*, as St. Augustine says, and *malè vivitur ubi non de Deo benè creditur*.

¹ Archbp. LAUD, Sermons, vi. p. 176. Unity is a binder up; and Unity of Spirit (which is Religion's Unity) is the fastest binder that is. And lest it should not bind fast enough, it calls in the bond of peace; so that no man can exhort unto, and endeavour for the Unity of the *Church*, but

Prov. xiv.

34.

Ps. cxxvii. 1.

Ps. xxxiii.

12.

Jer. xi. 8.

xii. 17.

at the same time he labours for the good of the *State*. . . .
 Unity not kept in the Church is less kept in the State.
 And the schisms and divisions of the one are both mothers
 and nurses of all disobedience and disjoining in the other.
 So the Apostle's exhortation (Eph. iv. 3) goes on directly
 to the Church, by consequent to the State.

Q. But did not ancient Republics flourish without religion?

A. No; on the contrary, their wisest citizens maintained that they flourished *by* religion ¹.

¹ See the copious citations by Bp. Taylor on this subject, Rule of Conscience, iii. iii. Rule iv.

Q. But how could they flourish by *idolatry*?

A. They did not flourish by idolatry, *as idolatry*; but they flourished by it, as far as it was a *Religion*, opposed to Atheism or *no Religion*.

HOOKE, V. XII. 6. V. LXXVI. 6.

Q. Are, then, civil communities bound to maintain religion?

A. Yes; and Christian men united together in that Society which is called a *Body Politic*, are bound to maintain the *Christian Religion* in soundness and purity, not merely as an important but as their *most important concern* ¹.

Deut. xxviii.
 11.
 1 Sam. xii.
 14.
 Isa. iii. 10.
 Below,
 ch. iv.

¹ HOOKE, V. I. 2. Pure and *unstained* Religion ought to be the *highest of all cares* appertaining to public regiment; as well in regard of the aid and protection which they who serve God confess that they receive at His merciful hands, as also for the force which Religion hath to qualify all sorts of men, and to make them in public affairs the more serviceable; Governors the apter to rule with conscience; Inferiors for conscience sake the willinger to obey. Bp. ANDREWES, Tortura Torti, p. 381. Religionis cura non est regia tantum, sed in regiis *prima*.

BURKE, vol. x. p. 43. Religion is so far, in my opinion,

PART III. from being out of the province or the duty of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and it ought to be, *not only his* care, but the *principal thing* in his care; because it is one of the great bonds of human society; and its object, the supreme good, the ultimate end and object of man himself.

Q. By what law are they so bound?

Prov. xiv.
34.

A. By the will of ALMIGHTY GOD, whose work human Society is¹, which he wills not only *to exist*, but to exist in the most *perfect condition* of which it is capable; and since "Righteousness exalteth a Nation," and "Religion is the root of every virtue²," and the *Christian Religion* is the foundation of all *Christian virtue*; therefore a Christian community is bound to maintain and promote by all means in its power the *public* (whereby it also promotes the *private*) exercise of the Christian Religion.

¹ BURKE, vol. vi. p. 326. God wills the State.

² HOOKER, V. 1.

Q. Its duty, then, to itself, as well as to God, prescribes the same thing?

Ps. cxxvii. 1.
cxliv. 15.
Judith v.
17—21.
xi. 10.

A. Yes, certainly, "happy and blessed are the People who have the Lord for their God;" "all things religiously taken in hand are prosperously ended¹;" and what the heathen poet said to his own country, may be said to all States and Kingdoms,

*Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas :
Huc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosæ.*

(HOR. Carm. iii. 6, 5—8.)

¹ HOOKER, V. I. 2. S. AUGUST. Civ. Dei, v. c. 24. Lord Ch. J. COKE, Litt. 95. Nunquam res humanæ succedunt, ubi negliguntur divinæ. HOOKER, V. I. 4. When the Kings of

Israel, to better their worldly estates (as they thought), left their own and their people's ghostly condition uncared for, by woful experience they both did learn that to forsake the true God of heaven is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of divine grace may commit, or unprotected from above may endure.

CHAF. II.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DUTY OF KINGS AND STATES TO PROFESS AND TO PROMOTE THE TRUE FAITH.

Q. BUT, it is said, if a State provides for the interests of Religion, does it not seem to intrude upon God's own office?

A. God graciously *vouchsafes* to Kings and States the *privilege* of advancing His glory. This is the greatest *honour* they can enjoy, and the forfeiture of it is their severest *punishment*; and as it would be sin and folly on their part to ask Him *why* He gives them this privilege, so it would be very unreasonable if they, who derive all their power from God and are *most* indebted to Him and dependent on Him, should not also be foremost to make acknowledgments to Him of this their obligation and of their dependence, by their faithfulness in His service, and by their zeal for His glory.

Q. You say that Kings and States derive their power from God; can then a power which is sometimes tyrannically abused be said to be divinely derived?

A. God is the *only* source of *all* power; but He

PART III. is the source of none of its *abuses*; yet in His wisdom He often *uses bad* Governors to chastise bad subjects, and to prove and try good ones¹, and to train them by wholesome discipline to higher degrees of goodness, and thus to prepare them for greater fruition of glory.

¹ S. IREN. v. 29. Quidam Regum ad correctionem et utilitatem subditorum dantur à Deo, quidam ad timorem et pœnam. S. CHRYSOSTOM, ad Rom. xiii. S. AUGUSTIN, de Civ. Dei, v. c. 21. Qui dedit imperium Constantino Christiano, Ipse etiam Apostatæ Juliano. Qui Mario imperium dedit, etiam Caio Cæsari; qui Augusto, Ipse et Neroni. S. AUG. Epist. ad Vincent. Terror temporalium potestatum, quando veritatem oppugnant, justis et fortibus gloriosa probatio est, infirmis periculosa tentatio.

Q. You say that *God* is the source of all power, but does not St. Peter call the Civil Magistrate an Ordinance or Creation (κρίσις) of *Man*?

A. Yes. The *form* of Government, and the choice of particular *persons* to administer it is frequently from *man*; but its power and authority, when constituted, is from *God*¹: the ordinance of the Civil Magistrate is *per populum*, who is its *mediate* and *instrumental*, but it is à Deo, who is its *principal* and *efficient*, cause², and therefore St. Peter says, "Submit yourself to every creation of *man*, for the *Lord's sake*;" and St. Paul, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers (ἐξουσίαις), for there is no power *but from God* (ἀπὸ Θεοῦ): the powers that be, are ordained of God (ὑπὸ Θεοῦ); and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of *God*."

¹ Bp. ANDREWES, Private Devotions, p. 48, ed. 1830. All the kingdoms and governments of the whole earth are Thy

ordinance (Rom. xiii. 2), albeit an institution of man (1 Pet. ii. 13). Bp. SANDERSON, Præl. vii. 15. BRAMHALL and HORSLEY in Christian Institutes, iii. 39. Abp. LEIGHTON, in 1 Pet. ii. 13. CHAP. II.

² Col. i. 16. ἐν αὐτῷ (Χριστῷ) ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα . . . εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαὶ, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι, τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται. See below, p. 268, above, 19, 20.

Q. Kings and States, then, derive their power from God; but did not Christ disclaim all civil power, and renounce all exercise of it in His behalf, when He said to Pilate, *My kingdom is not of this world* (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου)? John xviii. 36.

A. Christ, when He spake these words, was standing before the Roman governor, being accused by the Jews of usurping Cæsar's authority; *this* is what He disclaimed; and it is to be observed that He does not say, *My kingdom is not in this world* (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ), but, it is not *from* hence (ἐντεῦθεν), that is, not *derived from* this world (ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου¹), an expression which He used in the same sense on two other occasions; nor is it to be advanced by worldly *force*, for then, as He says, His servants would have *fought* for Him. Christ, to Whom as Creator and Redeemer of the world "*all power in heaven and earth is given*," Who is "*the Prince of the Kings of the earth*," did not come to make Himself an earthly King, but He *did* come to make Kings members and ministers of His kingdom. And it is clear from Holy Scripture, that though Christ did not come into the world to exercise earthly power in His own person, yet that *all they who have earthly power*, are bound to exercise it for the promotion of His glory. John xix. 12.
John viii. 23. xv. 19.
Matt. xxviii. 18.
Rev. i. 5.
Wisd. vi. 4.

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¹ THEOPHYLACT, in Joann. c. 18, p. 743. εἶπε, ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· καὶ αὐθις, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα· βασιλεύει μὲν γὰρ (ὁ Χριστὸς) ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ προνοεῖται τούτου, καὶ, ὡς βούλεται, περιάγει τὰ πάντα, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν καὶ προαιώνιος—ἔπειτα πῶς ἂν νοηθῇ τὸ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, εἰ μὴ ἦν ὁ κόσμος ἴδιος αὐτοῦ;

S. AUG. Tract. in S. Joann. cxv. Non ait, 'Regnum meum non est *hic*,' sed 'non est *hinc*.' *Hic* enim est Regnum Ejus, usque in finem sæculi.

Q. How does this duty of Kings to maintain and promote the true Faith appear from Scripture?

Rom. xiii.

1. 4. 6.

Col. i. 16.

ἐκτίσται . . .

ἐκτίσθη . . .

in the original.

Dan. ii. 21.

iv. 25.

1 Tim. vi.

15.

Prov. viii.

5.

Isa. xlix.

23. lx. 16.

Acts iv. 25

—27.

A. As has been before stated, Kings¹ are there represented to us as God's Vicegerents and "Ministers for good" to men (διάκονοι, λειτουργοί). They derive their power² from CHRIST, by Whom "all things were *created*, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers;" and "Who is *the only Potentate*, the King of kings, and Lord of lords;" "by Whom kings reign and princes decree justice;" and God has promised that "Kings shall be the nursing-fathers, and Queens the nursing-mothers," of His Church.

And the second Psalm, which prophesies of this very event, which has just been mentioned, I mean of Christ standing before Pilate, when, it is also to be observed, our Lord spake of Pilate's official power as derived *from above* (ἄνωθεν) (i. e. from *Himself*), concludes with an exhortation from the Royal Psalmist to Kings and all in authority, to be *wise and serve the Lord with fear*, and to *kiss the Son*, i. e. to reverence *Him*, as their subjects reverence *them*. "Praise the Lord," he

Psalm ii. 12.

Psalm

cxlviii. 11.

Rev. iv. 10.

says again, “ye Kings of the earth, and all People, Princes, and all Judges of the World.” And, in the Revelation, the *twenty-four elders*, i. e. all the heads of the tribes of the earth, *cast their crowns before His throne*; and the voices in heaven say, *“The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of His CHRIST.”* That cannot be otherwise than glorious for Kings and Nations to *do*, which, *when done*, is sung of by Angels in heaven, as redounding to the glory of Christ.

Rev. xi. 15.
Rev. xix.
16, 17.
xxi. 24.

¹ S. IREN. v. 20. Cujus jussu nascuntur homines, Hujus jussu et reges constituuntur. TERTULLIAN, Apolog. 30. Ideo magnus est imperator, quia cælo minor est; inde est imperator unde et homo; inde potestas illi unde et spiritus. Ad Scap. 2. Imperator homo a Deo secundus, quicquid est a Deo consecutus; et solo Deo minor, omnibus major, dum solo Deo minor. S. AUGUST. iv. 722. 1141. Jam in fronte Regum Crux illa fixa est, &c.

² HOOKER, VIII. iv. 6. No power (saith the Apostle) but from God, nor doth any thing come from God but by the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ.—All authority of man is derived from God through Christ, and must by Christian men be acknowledged to be *no* otherwise held than *of* and *under* Him. See Bp. OVERALL, Convocation Book. Book i. c. 2. xxxv. xxxvi. CASAUBON. de Lib. Eccles. c. 11. iv.

Rom. xiii. 1.

Q. But if the National Community is obliged to promote religion, must it not profess *some one form* of religion, and one at variance with that of many of its members, where they *differ* in their religious opinions?

A. The Community supposed consists of Christian men, who are bound, as they desire to be saved, to profess the *true faith*, which is *one*, and *one only* ¹.

Eph. iv. 5.

¹ S. HIERON. in Esai. xix. Unum altare dicitur, sicut *una*

PART III. *fides, et unum baptisma, et una Ecclesia.* See above, pp. 29—32.
See further below, pt. iii. ch. iii. pp. 280—291.

Q. But when they *differ* in their belief, how can this be done? is it not very difficult to be attained?

A. All *good things are difficult*; and *Unity* we know is one of the *best*. It is too great a good to be acquired except by a hearty combination of *desire, resolution, and earnest endeavour* (σπουδή¹). They who differ ought, therefore, as they value their salvation and the cause of Piety and Charity, first of all carefully to *consider the grounds* of their differences, remembering the *evil and sinfulness of strife* and the *blessings of unity*; and they ought to endeavour therefore to *put an end* to their *differences*, according to the advice of the Apostle,

Ps. cxxxiii.
2 Cor. xiii.
11.
Phil. i. 27.
1 Cor. iii. 3.
Gal. v. 20.
Psalm
cxxxiii. 1.
Eph. iv. 2.
1 Cor. i. 10.

“endeavouring earnestly (σπουδάζοντες) to keep the *Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*,” “*I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment*” (οὐ καὶ γνώμῃ); “*doing nothing through strife, but being of one accord, earnestly following after the things which make for peace, and wherewith one may edify another.*”

¹ Archbp. LAUD, Sermons, vi. On Unity. Keep then the Unity of the Spirit; but know withal (and it follows in the text, Eph. iv. 3) that if you will keep it you must *endeavour* to keep it. For it is not so *easy* a thing to keep Unity in great bodies as it is thought; there goes much *labour* and *endeavour* to it. The word is σπουδάζοντες; *study*, be careful to keep it. St. Augustine reads it, *satagentes*, *do enough* to keep it: and he that doth enough, gives not over till it be kept. Nay, the Apostle comes so home, that he uses two

words, and both of singular *care* for Unity : for he does not simply say, *Keep it* ; nor simply, *Endeavour it* ; but, *Study, endeavour to keep it*. Now no man can *keep*, that is not careful ; and no man will *endeavour*, that is not studious. "Neither is it" (says St. Chrysostom) "every man's sufficiency to be able to keep Unity." And the word implies *such an endeavour as makes haste to keep* : and indeed no time is to be lost at this work.

Q. But if they who differ are *sincere* in their differences, are they responsible for their opinions, even if they are *erroneous* ?

A. Certainly they are. God has not only given us *Conscience*, but He has also given us His *Law* to *regulate* it. It is not indeed to be supposed that any man is *guilty because* he is *sincere*, or could be *innocent, without sincerity* ; but sincerity in *error* may, and generally does, proceed from bad moral habits ; it is the result of violation of God's Law, and of wilful resistance to His grace, i. e. it proceeds from such a temper and practice as is forbidden and condemned by God, and as can produce no *good fruits* ; and therefore it is not *conscience*, or *good intention*, alone which can give us any well-grounded assurance of acquittal and acceptance with God.

John xvi. 2.
Acts xxvi. 9.
Phil. iii. 6.

Q. You mean, then, that we ought to derive no assurance from our conscience, simply *as conscience*, and that we have no right to presume that its persuasions are not punishable, merely because they are *sincere* ?

A. I do¹. The Jews, even when they put our Blessed Lord to death, *thought* that they were doing God service. "All the ways of a man" (says Solomon) "are clean in his own eyes ; but the Lord weigheth the spirits : " and "There is a

Prov. xvi. 2.
xiv. 12.

PART III. way which *seemeth* right unto a man ; but the end thereof are the ways of *death*."

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES. Art. xviii. They are to be had accursed, that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect that he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature. See also Art. xiii., and W. LAW, Letters to Bp. Hoadly, p. 331—334, and p. 570, in Scholar Armed, vol. i. Of Sincerity and Private Judgment.

Q. In what cases, then, *may* our conscience *excuse* us ?

Acts xxiv.
16.
1 Tim. i. 5.
19. iii. 9.
iv. 2.

A. First, when our conscience is *right*, i. e. regulated by God's Law ; and, secondly, when we have used all the means in our power to *reform* it where it is *erroneous*, to *inform* it where it is *ignorant*, and to *conform* it to Reason and Religion where it is refractory ¹.

¹ CANONS, 1603. Canon lvii. We require and charge every person seduced as aforesaid to *reform* their *wilfulness*, and submit to the order of the Church ; and if any will not be moved to *reform* their *error* and *unlawful course*, &c.

HOOKE, Preface, VI. 6 ; above, p. 40.—IV. x. 1. The most effectual medicine to heal their grief is not the *taking away* of the things whereat they are grieved, but the *altering* of *their own persuasion* concerning them. See also Bp. SANDERSON, Sermons, iv. § 24. 29. Notes in Christian Institutes, iv. 417. 511—513. 607—609. See below, pt. iv. chap. ii.

Q. But, if the endeavour for unity fails, must still *some one form* of religion be professed ?

A. There is, as has been shown (p. 29—32), *one true faith*, and *one only* ; and it is not less necessary for *Communities* to receive, nor less important for them to profess, this *one true faith*, than it is for *Individuals* to do so ¹. "How long *halt ye* between *two* opinions?" was addressed by God's prophet not to *Individuals*, but to a *State* ; and

Rev. iii. 15.
1 Kings
xviii. 21.

a *mixture* of Religions was denounced by God as a national sin in the case of the Cuthites, Avites, and Sepharvites, and other inhabitants of Samaritan cities. "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord, shall be destroyed." God declares that He will cut off all who "make *many* altars to sin," and "worship and swear by the *Lord*, and that swear by *Malcham*;" i. e. who *combine* false religions with the true. He has revealed Himself as "a *jealous*² God," i. e. as one who will bear no rival in the worship due to Him; and that He is to be "worshipped in *truth*;" and that He will not spare those who join error and corruption with His pure faith and worship. Religious *differences*, religious *compromises*, and religious *indifference*, are all sinful; and none of them can be remedied except by an earnest desire on the part of all the members of the community to join in the stedfast and zealous profession of the *One true Faith*; and it is the duty of a Nation, and specially of its Rulers, as they hope to escape God's wrath and to receive His blessing, to aid and encourage all desires and endeavours for the attainment of this end, and to promote and maintain national Unity in religion by national Acts, and to abstain carefully from all that is of a contrary tendency.

¹ Bp. BILSON on Christian Subjection, p. 29. I reckon it cannot stand with a Prince's dutie to reverse the heavenly decree, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve," (Matt. iv. 10.) by establishing *two Religions* in one Realme.

² Lord BACON, De Unitate Ecclesiæ, iii. Inter attributa Veri Dei ponitur, quod sit *Deus zelotypus*, (Exod. xx. 5. xxii. 20. xxxiv. 14.) itaque cultus ejus non fert *mixturam*. Bp.

CHAP. II.
2 Kings
xvii. 24—41.
Zeph. i. 5.
Levit. xix.
19.
Hos. viii. 11.
Deut. xxii.
9.
Exod. xxii.
20.
xxiii. 13.
xxiv. 14.
Jud. vi. 10.
1 Cor. v. 6.
2 Cor. vi. 14.

PART III. ANDREWES on the Decalogue, p. 101. See S. AUGUSTINE'S Sermon x. on the Judgment of Solomon (1 Kings iii. 16—28).

Q. But is it not unjust to levy taxes on those who *dissent* from a Church, for the endowment and extension of what they *disapprove*?

Exod. xxx.
16.
Deut. xii.
19. xiv. 29.
2 Chron.
xxxii. 4.
Mal. iii. 10.

A. Almighty God did not so judge, when He commanded that a regular maintenance should be provided throughout Israel (where there were many worshippers of Jeroboam's calves and of Baal) for the maintenance of the Priests and the Temple. If every man were to be taxed only for what he *approved*, there would be no State Revenue. Many persons (*e. g.* Quakers, &c.) have religious scruples against *war*: is it therefore unjust that they should be taxed for the maintenance of the Army and Navy? No. *Salus populi suprema Lex*. So a Nation is not to suffer loss of or weakness in its *spiritual* army and navy, the Church, because many men do not approve of its doctrines.

Taxes are paid by subjects, in token of subjection to the civil power, and to afford it the means of protecting their persons and property, and as a remuneration for their service in doing so; but they do not oblige the civil power to propagate the opinions of those who pay, or not to propagate those which they disapprove. Christ ordered the Jews to pay tribute to Tiberius, who certainly did not propagate Judaism, but heathenism: and St. Paul ordered Christians to pay tribute to Nero, who persecuted *Christianity*; and the reason he gives, is that the imperial power was God's minister attending on the preservation of peace. Since also *unity* of Religion is the great preservative of public and private

peace, the civil power acts unjustly to those who pay taxes, and inconsistently with its duty to them, if it encourages diversity of religions and does *not* maintain *unity* in the truth.

Besides, *Dissenters* are Christians, and, as such, must desire the maintenance and extension of Christianity; and they cannot suppose, or at least they can never *prove*, that a Nation can obey God, or hope for Peace and Prosperity, without promoting Religion. In England the individual Dissenter does prefer his own form of doctrine or worship to that of the Church, yet, since he differs as much or more from other Dissenters of other Denominations than he does from the Church, and since the Church is established, he ought for the sake of peace and unity to desire its prosperity. He may, indeed, wish that those points in which he *differs* from the Church, *were* the doctrines of the Church, but he cannot desire that those points in which he *agrees* with it, and by virtue of which he is in a certain sense a member of the Church, were not taught, or that division were endowed instead of unity.

Q. But may not the State promote *different* forms of Religion?

A. And where is it to *stop*, when it once begins to do so? ullusne excludet jurgia *finis*? Besides, by endowing *various forms* of Religion, it would virtually endow *none*. It would deprive *itself* of its only sound support, that of Religion. It would promote, *not* Religion, but *Indifference* to all Religion. It would tend to produce in the *public mind* the opinion that *all Religions are equal*; and thus would create universal laxity

PART III. of belief and practice, and so hasten its own dissolution. But no: the duty of a State is to discern and maintain the *true* form of Religion; and if it does this steadily and zealously, all religious differences and difficulties, which arise mainly from the *neglect* of this duty, will with God's blessing soon disappear.

Q. Have we any Scripture Rules for such cases as these, where religious differences prevail?

A. During the ministry of Jesus Christ and His Apostles, no State or Governing Power had as yet become Christian; but St. Paul writing to Christian Communities, sundry members of which differed from each other in religious opinions, does not teach them that on this account they are to maintain *no* form, or *different* forms, of religious belief; but, on the contrary, he exhorts them all *to stand fast in the one true faith*, not to be *corrupted from the simplicity or singleness* (ἀπλότητος) *that is in Christ*, and *by speaking the truth in love*, to confirm themselves and others in the true faith.

1 Cor. xvi.
13.

Phil. i. 27.
2 Cor. xi. 3.
Eph. iv. 15.

Q. But may not the Community *err* in its religious belief?

A. It may, as an Individual may; but the possibility of its making a mistake in its belief will never excuse a State, any more than an Individual, for professing no belief at all; but it ought to make it careful to prove the truth and to hold it fast; to “buy the truth” at any cost, and to “sell it not” at any price.

1 Thess. v.
21.
Prov. xxiv.
23.

Q. Ought not this possibility of error to make a Community charitable to those who hold different opinions in religion?

A. Certainly; and therefore it ought to abstain from *persecuting* those who err¹, though at the same time it ought to endeavour to reclaim the erring², *by setting before them, promoting, and encouraging* what is *true*, and by scrupulously *abstaining* from giving *any* aid or patronage to what is *false*.

CHAP. II.

Luke xiv. 23.
Rev. iii. 9.
2 Cor. i. 24.
Rom. xvi. 17.
1 Tim. vi. 3—5.
2 John 10.

¹ TERTULLIAN ad Scapulam, 2. Religionis non est religionem cogere. S. AUGUST. ii. 403, 404. (Epist. c.) LACTANT. Div. Inst. v. 20. Defendenda religio est non occidendo sed moriendo. Religio *cogi* non potest. Verbis potius quam verberibus res agenda est.

² HOOKER, V. LXVIII. 7.

Q. Is there any exception to this rule of *toleration*?

A. Yes; when opinions calling themselves religious, tend to public scandal, to the subversion of order, the destruction of loyalty, and to the dissolution of the Community, there they may properly be made the object of civil disqualifications, restraints, and penalties¹.

Dan. iii. 29.
2 Pet. ii. 10.
Exod. xxii. 28.

¹ Bp. BARLOW, Case of a Toleration, p. 30, ed. 1692.

Q. But if the Community, acting as a *State*, touches religious matters at all, is there not a danger that it may intrude into some concerns which ought to be treated by it as a *Church*, and not as a *State*?

A. This, no doubt, may happen; but there is a check upon such a deviation, in the fact that, as the laymen of the community are members of it as a Church, so the Clergy are members of it as a State¹: and as the Clergy are commanded by God to teach the difference between the holy and the

Ezek. xxii. 26. xliv. 23.
Matt. xxii. 21.

PART III.

Mark xii.
17.
Luke xx.
25.

Below,
pt. iv. ch. ii.
2 Kings
xviii. 3, 4.
Rom. xii.
21.
Col. iv. 5.
Above,
p. 266, 267.

profane, so the civil Rulers of the State are to consider well the sin and danger of profanely intermeddling with holy things. But although such results *may* happen, it would be very unpatriotic, unloyal, and unchristian to desire, on that account, that the State should be without the power of exercising the noblest of her functions, that of *promoting the glory of God*; and although in Christian *prudence* and *charity*, *individuals* ought to *forego* the use of *indifferent* things, *not publicly ordered*, when there is a very great probability of their *abuse*, and when this abuse is *hard*¹ to *rectify*; yet in the case of a *positive public good*, it would be very *unwise* and *uncharitable* to allow that any danger of its *abuse* should make us forget and forfeit its great *legitimate uses*; rather, we ought to endeavour to *remove* the danger of the *abuse*, and thus to *confirm* and extend the *use*.

¹ Bp. GIBSON, Codex, pp. 1—20.

² HOOKER, V. LXV. 12—17.

Q. What are the uses in the present case?

Zech. iv.
2, 3.

1 Cor. ix.
7—11.
1 Tim. v. 18.

A. The State, by professing publicly the true Christian Faith in its national acts; by mixing Prayers, and religious Services, and Sacraments, with the solemn discharge of its civil duties; by supporting the moral and religious Discipline of the Church, both as relates to Clergy and Laity; by giving additional vigour to ecclesiastical laws; by providing for the erection, endowment, and repair of Churches and Schools¹; by securing the competent maintenance of the Clergy; by assigning to Bishops a place in Courts and Parliaments²; confers great benefits, both spiritual and temporal,

on all classes of society: it animates the whole body with religious life, and maintains it in peace and unity; by giving external dignity to religion, it preserves the *rich* from the danger of despising it; by endowing it, it provides for the regular, sober, and unreserved preaching of the Word and due administration of the Sacraments, and for pastoral superintendence and religious consolation to *both rich and poor*; in fine, it consecrates¹ itself to God, and brings down a blessing from Him on all its undertakings.

CHAP. II.

Deut. xxxii.
28—31.
Matt. xi. 5.
Luke iv. 14.
vii. 22.
James ii. 3.
Micah iv. 13.

¹ See S. HIERON. in Zech. viii. on the erection of Churches, "*expensis reipublicæ.*" GERHARD de Magistratu Politico, vi. 592. *Scholæ sunt seminaria ac plantaria Ecclesiæ.* Quemadmodum in corpore humano est suavissima venarum et articularum *συνγυία* sive combinatio, ita in corpore Christi mystico, Ecclesiæ et Scholæ pulcherrimâ quâdam harmoniâ sibi invicem sunt conjunctæ. De scholis igitur recte institutendis Magistratus sollicitus sit vel maximè.

² HOOKER, VII. xv. 8. Let not envy so far prevail as to make us account that a blemish, which, if there be in us any spark of sound judgment or of religious conscience, we must, of necessity, acknowledge to be one of the chiefest ornaments unto this land, by the ancient laws whereof the Clergy being held for the chief of those Three Estates, which together make up the entire body of this Commonwealth, under one supreme Head and Governor, it hath all this time ever borne a sway proportionable in the weighty affairs of the land: wise and virtuous kings condescending most willingly thereunto, even of reverence to the Most High; with the flame of whose sanctified inheritance, as it were with a kind of divine presence, unless their chiefest civil assemblies were so far forth beautified, as might be without any notable impediment unto their heavenly functions, they could not satisfy themselves as having showed towards God an affection most dutiful.

Archbp. LAUD, Answer to the Lord Say's Speech against the Bishops, (Remains, vol. ii. pt. 2, fol. 1700.) pp. 1—21. The Bishops of England have ever sat all of them in Parlia-

PART III. ment, the highest Court of Judicature, ever since Parliaments were in England. See Bp. GIBSON, Codex, p. 125, note w, and p. 128. Christian Inst. iv. p. 661.

BURKE, Reflections on the Revolution in France, v. 195. While we provide first for the poor, and with a parental solicitude, we have not relegated Religion, like something we were ashamed to show, to obscure Municipalities or rustic Villages. No; we will have her exalt her mitred front in Courts and Parliaments; we will have her mixed throughout the whole mass of life, and blended with all the classes of society.

³ Archbp. LAUD, Sermon i. The commonwealth can have no blessed and happy being but by the Church.

LORD CHANCELLOR ELDON (Letter to Rev. M. Surtees, Feb. 1825). My opinion is, that the Establishment is framed not for the sake of making the Church political, but for the purpose of *making the State religious*; that an Establishment with an enlightened toleration is as *necessary* to the *peace* of the *State* as to the *maintenance* of *Religion*; *without which the State can have no solid Peace*.

DECLARATION of the ENGLISH LAITY, A.D. 1833. We find ourselves called upon by the events which are daily passing around us, to declare our firm conviction that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian Religion is the first and paramount duty of a Christian People; and that the Church Established in these Realms, by carrying its sacred and beneficial influences through all orders and degrees, and into every corner of the land, has for many ages been the great and distinguishing blessing of this country; and not less the means, under Divine Providence, of National Prosperity, than of individual Piety.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AS THE SPIRITUAL MOTHER OF ALL CHRISTIANS IN THIS COUNTRY.

Q. You have said (above, p. 259) that a Christian community bears the name either of a State

or of a Church, according to the functions which CHAP. III.
it exercises; is this true of the community of
ENGLAND?

A. Yes¹.

¹ Archbp. BRAMHALL, Reply to Bishop of Chalcedon, Disc. iii. p. 182. The English Church and the English Kingdom are one and the same society of men, differing, not really, but rationally, from one another in respect of some distinct relations. See above, p. 259—264.

Q. But however true this theory might have been in England in *former* times, as e. g. the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is it not inconsistent to speak *now* of the Church and State, as two names for the *same* community, when a great number of persons no longer *belong to the Church*, but are *separated from it* and *opposed to it*?

A. According to GOD's counsels, and Christ's Matt. xiii. 38.
own words, "The field is the World," i. e. the Above,
p. 5, 19.
Whole World is His Church, "*totus mundus Ecclesia est*¹;" and, in Christ's gracious design, every Nation and Kingdom is an integral Member Rev. xi. 15.
of His One Universal Church. All men are either Christians or not Christians; and all Christians appertain to the Visible Church (see above, p. 24—26); and *no one does not belong to the Church* except Atheists, Jews, Infidels, and Apostates². If those persons, of whom you speak, are *Christians*, and if the Church of England is what she has been shown to be, (above, Pt. ii. chapters i—ix.) namely, a true branch of the Universal Church, it follows that she is their spiritual Mother. She, we say, is the Mother of *all* Christians in *this country*. In the words of Scripture, Above,
Pt. i. ch. iv.
she is to them all, "the House of God," "the Body

PART III.

Above,
p. 12. 16.
46—48.

of Christ," "the Mother of all living:" and as such, she is appointed by Christ Himself to be the dispenser of His grace *to them all*; and they can receive no sacramental grace³, except by her⁴. She is the Spouse of Christ, and these spiritual gifts are *dos Ecclesiæ*, her dowry, and *hers* alone. As *Christians*, then, even Schismatics are Members, though *unsound* members, of the Church, and *must be* objects of her regard, as she *ought* to be an object of reverence to them; they are *children* of the Church, though *not obedient* ones; and as long as she is a Church, and as long as they are Christians, neither can she forget her maternal love to them, nor *can* they cast off their filial duty to her.

¹ S. AUG. iii. 2308. ² HOOKER, III. I. 7. V. LXVIII. 6.

³ S. CYPRIAN, Ep. 55. p. 112. Fell. Christianus non est qui in Christi Ecclesiâ non est.

⁴ S. AUG. de Bapt. c. Don. i. c. 23. Ecclesia omnes per Baptismum parit, sive *apud* se sive *extra* se; Ecclesiæ jure, quod est in Baptismo, nascuntur quicunque nascuntur. Ibid. c. 18. Baptizantur *extra* Ecclesiæ communionem, sed tamen baptisate ECCLESIAE, quod, ubicunque est, sanctum est per se ipsum, et ideo non est eorum qui se separant. *Neque enim* (c. 14.) *separatio* eorum *generat* (in baptismo), sed *quod* cum Ecclesiâ tenuerunt.—S. AUG. in Ps. xxxii. Velint nolint schismatici, *fratres* nostri sunt.—S. AUG. c. Crescon. ii. 16, compares the sacramental graces of the Church, when diffused in schismatic congregations, to the rivers of Eden flowing out of Eden: these graces are then waters of Paradise, but not *in* Paradise. In what respect Schismatics may be said to belong to the Church, and in what to be separated from it, see above, pt. i. ch. ii. and ch. v., and BINGHAM, XVI. I. 17. BRAMHALL, ii. 81.

Q. You intend therefore to say that the opinion of Hooker, Casaubon, Vossius, Laud, Saravia, Bramhall, Burke, and others, (above, pp. 260, 261,) who asserted the *coincidence* of Church and State,

in a Christian country, has not become inapplicable in England, through the prevalence and growth of religious dissent in this country?

A. Certainly I do. This opinion of which you speak, is not so much the opinion of Hooker, &c. as of the English Divines who *preceded* them¹, and of the early Christian Fathers; or rather, as we have seen, it is the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST Himself: "*The Field*" of the Church, says our Lord, "*is the World*:" there will always be *tares* in the Field, (i. e. in the *universal* Church,) and in every several portion of it, (i. e. in all *national Churches*,) even to the Harvest: and the World does not *cease* to be the Field, although it may be nearly overgrown with Tares. There was abundance of Tares in the *national field* of England in the age of Hooker and of Laud, (as is notorious from their history and writings,) and tares abounded in the field in the antecedent times of Popery; but yet, as we have seen, the English *Nation* was then the English *Church*, and was by them so affirmed to be; just as the *State* of Israel and of Judah was the *Church* of God, even in the times of Ahab, of Manasseh, and of the Pharisees (see above p. 194). It is true, indeed, that where tares *abound* in it, a Nation is a Church in a *corrupt* and *unsound state*; but it is still a Church. The fallacy of those who would thence argue that it is not then a Church, proceeds from the same source as the error of Cyprian, who affirmed that *heretics* were *wholly severed* from the Church, and that therefore baptism administered by them was no sacrament. It is this same error as that of those who think that because Rome is a very *corrupt* Church, therefore she is *no* Church. It arises from not carefully

Matt. xiii. 38.

Above,
p. 195.

PART III. observing the real nature of the difference, first, between the Church Visible and Invisible, and then between the Church Visible in a sound, and the same Church in an *unsound* state, more or less³.

¹ Bp. GARDINER, in his important treatise de Verâ Obedientiâ, (ed. Hamburg, 1536,) p. 806. Tom. ii, of Browne's Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum. Quatenus in Angliâ commoratur, de *regno* est; quatenus verò Christianus est, in Angliâ etiam commorans, de *Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ* esse censetur. Caput, inquit, Princeps est Regni, non Ecclesiæ; cùm tamen Ecclesia Anglicana nihil aliud sit quam virorum et mulierum, clericorum et laicorum in regno Angliæ commorantium in *Christianâ professione* unita congregatio.

² Whereas the true doctrine is, that "men remain in the *visible Church* till they *utterly renounce* the profession of Christianity." HOOKER, III. I. 8, 9.

³ Against which error HOOKER carefully warns his readers (see above, p. 16) in his *Third Book* (III. I. 9), without which the *Eighth* cannot be rightly understood.

Q. But if, as you have said, the Church regards Schismatics as belonging to her, does she not thereby encourage Schism?

A. No. The Church is charitable to schismatics, but not to schism: she knows, on the contrary, that it is a work of *charity* to *schismatics* to warn them that *wilful schism* is mortal sin; for such *God* declares it to be. And in all this, she remembers that many schismatics are not such either wilfully or willingly; and even they, who *are* so, are still men and Christians, and as such, they profess to obey the voice of God and of Christ. Therefore she cannot reject them; she cannot despair of them. Though they are *tares* or *bad¹ wheat* (Ζιζάνια), still they are in *her field*, and by God's converting power they may become *good wheat*. They are now *chaff*, but they are on

Above,
p. 44.

Above,
p. 46.

Above,
p. 12—16.

her *floor*, and they may become *good grain*². And though *they* are schismatical, yet she is Universal: and she therefore regards them as still hers, though their *schism* is not hers. *Odit errores, sed amat errantes*³, she loves the *erring*, but not their *errors*; and *because* she loves the *erring*, therefore she loves not their *errors*, but desires that they may be exchanged for *truth*; whereas *if* she despaired of them, and renounced them, she would be acting in a spirit of hatred to the *erring* and of love to their errors.

¹ It is to be observed, that ζιζάνια does not here properly signify *tares*, but a bad kind of *wheat*, (resembling it, S. AUG. iv. 9. 11.) which *may become good*, as the *good may become bad*. (See *Scullet*. in Matt. xiii. 25.) Hence S. Chrysostom in loc. αὐτῶν τῶν ζιζανίων πολλοὺς εἰκὸς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ γίγνεσθαι σίτον. See also S. AUG. in Ps. lxiv. 12.—TERTULLIAN, PRÆSCR. HÆR. 31, renders ζιζάνια by *avenæ*.

² S. AUG. v. 1519. Homo heri fuit *palea*, hodie fit *frumentum*.

³ S. AUG. de Baptismo c. Donat. i. 12.

Q. But if, as you seem to imply, schismatics may receive the graces, which are the dowry of the Church (p. 282), are they, as far as these graces are concerned, in a worse state than if they were not schismatics?

A. Yes, certainly they are. It is one thing to *have* a thing, and another to have it *profitably*¹; one thing to *possess*, another to *use* and *enjoy*. It is one thing to belong to the Church, and another to appertain to its *Unity*. Schismatics belong to the Church, but not to its *Unity*; and the graces which they may have “*insunt* iis, (says St. Augustine,) *sed non iis prosunt, verum etiam obsunt*,” they are *in* them², but not *for* them, but they are even *against* them, as long as they remain wilfully sepa-

PART III. *rated from the Unity of the Church, i. e. as long as they continue schismatics; and it is only when they return to the Unity of the Church, that these graces then “incipiunt prodesse in unitate, quæ in schismate prodesse non poterant”³,* begin to profit them in their *Unity* with the Church, which could not profit them in their *separation* from it.

¹ S. AUG. c. Donat. iv. 24. Salus extra Ecclesiam non est, et ideo quæcunque ipsius Ecclesiæ habentur extra Ecclesiam (i. e. in schismate) non valent ad salutem; aliud est habere, aliud utiliter habere. See also ii. p. 332, and de Bapt. c. Donat. i. 8. Non ideo se putent sanos quia eos dicimus habere aliquid sanum.

² S. AUG. in S. Joann. vi. In *bonis* sancta insunt ad salutem, in *malis* ad iudicium.—Ctra Gaudentium, ii. 11.

³ S. AUG. c. Donat. i. 18. c. Crescon. ii. 12. c. Petil. c. 15. Tractat. in S. Joann. vi. Rem Columbæ sed præter Columbam habes; veni igitur ad Columbam, ut prodesse tibi incipiat, quod habes.

Mark ix. 38.
Luke ix. 49.

Q. But if grace does not profit in separation from the Unity of the Church, how then did it happen, that when the Apostles forbad one who cast out devils in Christ's name, because he did not follow them, Christ said, “Forbid him not?”

A. It does not appear that the person spoken of separated himself from Christ, though he did not follow *in person* in the company of the Apostles; on the contrary, he worked miracles, not in his *own name*, but in Christ's. But even supposing him to have been separated from Christ, then Christ approved *His own power*, even when exercised by one separated from Him; but He did *not* approve the *separation* of him who exercised it, any more than God approved the *sins* of Balaam, Saul, Caiaphas, or Judas, when He prophesied and preached by their mouths; on the contrary, Christ

says, "He that is not with Me is against Me; and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth." CHAP. III.
Luke xi. 23.
Matt. xii.
30.

Q. But do we not read in the book of Numbers that when Eldad and Medad prophesied in the *Camp*, and not in the *Tabernacle* with the other Elders, and Joshua said, "My Lord Moses, forbid them," Moses replied, "Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that *all* the Lord's People were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them!" And does not this seem to justify the act of Preaching in Separation? Num. xi. 28.

A. No. Eldad and Medad had been *visibly called* and *sent* by God, and *ordained* by Moses; and while they prophesied, "the Spirit rested upon them." Moses, too, it is to be observed, approves their *prophesying*, but does not approve their prophesying in a *different place* from the other Elders. A Prophet may be in error and in sin, while his prophesying is true and holy. Their case shows indeed that the Spirit of God is not *restricted* to a particular *place*¹; but their example in no respect justifies any one in preaching *without* a due *call* and mission, for *they were* duly called and sent; nor does it justify any one, *if* duly called and sent, in preaching in *Separation*. Num. xi. 16,
17. 24—26.
Above,
p. 194. 211.

¹ Bp. BEVERIDGE, Sermons, i. 33.

Q. But if preaching in schism be sinful, how is it that St. Paul says, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Philippians, that when some preached Christ even of envy, *strife, and contention* (ἐριθμία), yet *every way*, whether in pretence or truth, Christ was preached, therein he rejoiced, yea, and would rejoice? Phil. i. 15—
18.

A. It may be well doubted whether St. Paul is

- PART III. there speaking of *ministerial preaching* at all, for he says that the *majority* of the brethren (οἱ πλείονες) were bold to speak the word, and it cannot be supposed that the majority were *Preachers*. But supposing him to speak of *ministerial preaching*, then we say that St. Paul approved the *preaching*
- 1 Cor. iii. 3. of the Gospel, but not ¹ the *preaching* of it *in envy and strife*; for he teaches us that envy and strife are carnal; and in the very next chapter of this
- Phil. ii. 3. same Epistle to the Philippians, he says, using the *same word* as here for *strife* (ἐρίθεια), “Let *nothing* be done through *strife* ;” and St. James says, using again the same word (ἐρίθεια), that “where there is *strife*, there is *every evil work* ;” and “if ye have bitter envying and *strife* (ἐρίθεια) in your hearts, this wisdom is earthly, sensual, devilish.” St.
- James iii. 14, 16. Paul again says, that *strife* (ἐρίθεια) is a carnal work, and excludes from heaven. *Schism* is against
- Gal. v. 20. *Charity*; and the same Apostle says, “Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not *Charity*, it profiteth me nothing² :” and those have not *Charity*, who love not the *Unity* of the Church, “Non habent Dei *charitatem*, qui non diligunt *Ecclesie unitatem* ².”

¹ ZONAR. in Canon. Apostol. 66, p. 34. Τὰ καλὰ καλῶς γινέσθω. Οὐ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γένηται.—καλὰ μὲν ἐδίδασκον, οὐ καλῶς δὲ, (bona quidem, sed non bene,) says Theodoret in locum; and see S. Chrysostom's Sermon on this text, v. p. 416. ὕμεις ἦν τὸ δόγμα, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἀπολλύουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξ ἀπεχθείας κηρύττοντες.

S. AUGUST. Tractat. in Joann. xlv. Quod fecit male, non prædicat de Cathedrâ Christi; inde lædit, unde mala facit, non unde bona dicit; cum audis bona dicentem, ne imiteris mala facientem. Tom. iii. 1735, 1836, 1837.

HOOKER, V. LXII. 5. Whatsoever we do without religious affection is hateful in God's sight, who is therefore said to respect *adverbs* more than *verbs*,—and the mind approves itself to God, not by *doing*, but by *doing well*.

² S. AUGUST. in Joann. Evang. Tract. xiv. Omnia illa quæ laudantur in Ecclesiâ, *nihil illis prosunt, quia conscindunt unitatem*, id est, tunicam illam *charitatis*. Quid faciunt? Diserti sunt multi inter illos, magnæ linguæ, flumina linguarum. Numquid Angelicè loquuntur? Audiant amicum sponsi zelantem sponso, non sibi: *Si linguis hominum loquar et Angelorum, charitatem autem non habeam, factus sum ut æramentum sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens*.

³ S. AUGUST. c. DON. iii. 21.

Q. What, therefore, would you infer from the doctrines of this chapter, respecting the practical duties of individual members of the Church toward the State?

A. If we love our country, it is our duty to pray and labour above all things that it may be purely and soundly Christian. If it has fallen into an unsound condition in this respect, we shall not give it over as incorrigible and incurable; but we shall labour that it may be *restored to health*; we shall never, therefore, consider *one* national sin as a reason for *more*, but as a call for exertions on our part in the work of *recovery*; remembering always the blessings promised by God to those who “build the old waste places, and raise up the foundations of many generations, and are called The *repairers* of the breach, The *restorers* of paths to dwell in.”

Isa. lviii. 12.

Q. What also, would you infer, are the duties of members of the Church to their dissenting brethren?

A. That they owe them the charitable offices of counsel, exhortation, assistance, and prayer,

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in order that they may be induced to reconsider the grounds of their dissent, and examine the true principles of the Church as instituted by Christ, and to meditate on the sin and danger of schism, and on the blessings of Unity, and on the Divine promises to those who promote it. And if, in the same manner, the STATE would discharge its office as a Christian community, dependent on the bounty of Almighty God for all its blessings, and duly grateful to Him for them, by providing additional *Bishops* and *Clergy*, *Churches* and *Schools*, in proportion to the increased and increasing Population, and consequent exigences of the Country, then there is good ground for hope that our strifes, dissensions, and animosities, would be greatly abated; that individuals, families, and districts, would return into the bosom of the Church in entire and happy communion, that we should dwell together in Unity, like brethren and dear children of God, and that, with the increase of private and national piety, the public peace and prosperity would be greatly promoted. And the SOVEREIGN, *Statesmen*, and *Individuals* who may effect, or aid in effecting, this great work, will be the truest Benefactors of their country, and be blessed for ever and ever by God¹.

Prov. xiv.
34.

Ps. ii. 10,
11.

Dan. xii. 3.

¹ HOOKER, V. LXXVI. 8. We confess with St. Augustine, (de Civ. Dei, v. 24,) that the chiefest happiness for which we have some Kings in so great admiration above the rest, is not because of their long reign, but the reason wherefore we most extol their felicity is, if so be they have virtuously reigned; if the exercise of their power hath been service and attendance upon the Majesty of the Most High; if they have feared Him as their own subjects have feared them; and

thus heavenly and earthly happiness are wreathed into one Crown, as to the worthiest of Christian Princes it hath by the Providence of Almighty God hitherto befallen. CHAP. IV.

The ENGLISH TRANSLATORS of the HOLY BIBLE, in their Preface to the Authorized Version, A.D. 1611. It doth certainly belong unto Kings, yea, it doth *specially belong* unto them, to have care of religion, yea, to know it aright, yea, to profess it zealously, yea, to *promote it to the uttermost of their power*. *This is* their glory before all nations which mean well; and this will bring unto them a far more excellent weight of glory in the day of the Lord Jesus. See below, pt. iii. chap. iv.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES.

Q. NOT to speak here of *other* forms of Civil Government,—in cases where the form of Civil Government, as in England, is a *Monarchy*, what is the relation of the Sovereign Power to the Church?

A. In *Christian Kingdoms* the Sovereign Power is ordinarily the “Supreme Governor over all Persons, in all causes,” in the community as a Church¹ as well as a State.

¹ CASAUBON, de Lib. Eccles. c. v. Quin suprema auctoritas in Republicâ Christianâ ad principes jure pertineat, ne dubitandum quidem videtur.

Bps. CARLETON, BILSON, ANDREWES, and WARD, cited by Archdeacon Pott on the Rights of Sovereignty in Christian States, pp. 31. 33, 34. 143. 227. HOOKER, Preface, ch. vii. 6. See below, p. 315—317. The work of Abp. WAKE, Authority of Christian Princes, 1697, will be found here of great value. See also PALMER on the Church, ii. p. 340.

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Q. But how is this ecclesiastical supremacy of Princes consistent with CHRIST's Headship of the Church?

Above, p. 17.
240, 241.

A. Christ's Headship differs from that of Kings in *objects*, in *order*, in *measure*, and in *kind*¹. It differs in *objects*,—for Christ is the Head over all *things* to the *Universal Church*; Kings are Heads over all *persons* in the Churches of *their own Kingdoms*. It differs in *order*,—for Christ ruleth over Kings; they rule under Him. In *measure*,—for His power is universal and absolute; theirs is special and restrained. In *kind*,—for He is the One Invisible source of *inward* life to His Body, the Church; Kings exercise an *external* rule over those visible members of it who live in their times and realms. Kings are Christ's servants, for the promotion of His Glory, and the advancement of His Kingdom. The ecclesiastical Headship of Kings is, therefore, far from being inconsistent with that of Christ; on the contrary, it is subordinate and ministerial to it.

Above,
p. 116. 268.

¹ HOOKER, VIII. IV. 1—8. BRAMHALL, ii. 218. See below, Pt. iii. ch. v.

Q. On what grounds does the *Ecclesiastical* supremacy of Kings rest?

A. On those of Reason, Scripture, and Authority.

Q. How of Reason?

A. For the maintenance of order in a civil community, there must be *degrees*; and where there are degrees, there must be some one *highest* of all: and this highest degree is best assigned to *one* person. And in the case of a *Monarchy*, as England, where it is so assigned, it is most fit that

this supreme power should reside in the temporal Monarch, for otherwise there would be *two* supreme heads; and no one "*can serve two masters.*" And this supremacy of Kings is warranted also by express precepts and examples of Holy Writ. CHAP. IV.
Matt vi. 24.
Luke xvi.
13.

Q. How does this appear?

A. Kings are there shown to us as God's Vicegerents upon earth, and, as such, claiming subjection from *all* persons in their dominions without distinction; and it would be degrading to them as His Ministers, and to Him whose Ministers they are, to suppose that they have no concern but with the *bodies*¹ of their subjects; and moreover by His ordinance *spiritual* things *are to be* their *special* care; and if their *regal duty* extends to these things, they must have *regal authority* in them, for God never *commands* to do any thing without also authorizing the proper *means* of doing it. Above,
p. 268, 269.
Rom. xiii. 1.
1 Tim. ii. 2.

¹ Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 339. If Princes were first ordained of God for those things only which are needful to maintain this *temporall life*, the power and charge of princes would consist in meats, drinkes, and apparell; and princes would have no further care of their people than they have of their hounds and horses, to see them well fed and smooth kept; which is a very wicked and brutish opinion. Praiers must be made for kings, and for all that are in authority, in order that they may discharge their duties according to God's ordinance, which is, that their subjects, by their help and means, may lead an *honest, godly, and quiet* life; *godliness and honesty* being the *chiefest ends of our praiers and effects of their powers.* 1 Tim. ii. 2.

P. 343. If their *dutie* stretch so far, *their authority* must stretch *as* far. Their charge ceaseth where their power endeth. God never requireth princes to do what He per-

PART III. mitteth them not to do. If, then, godliness and honestie be the chiefest part of their charge, *ergo* they be likewise the chiefest end of their power.

HOOKE, VIII. III. 2. A gross error it is to think that regal power ought to serve for the good of the body and not of the soul, for men's temporal peace, and not for their eternal safety; as if God had ordained kings for no other end and purpose but only to fat up men like hogs, and to see that they have their mast.—Cp. V. LXXVI. 4. VIII. VI. 11. See Bp. ANDREWES, below, p. 325.

CASAUBON, *Dedicat. Exerc. Baron.* Utinam considerare principes vellent, aliud esse sacerdotem agere, ex umbone Scripturas interpretari, Sacramenta administrare, in nomine Christi ligare et solvere; aliud auctoritate suâ prospicere ut quæ sunt sacerdotis agat sacerdos. *Has partes in Ecclesiâ Dei pii principes sibi semper vindicarunt. Nova, infanda, execranda theologia est, quæ docet curam subditorum pertinere ad principem tantum quatenus homines sunt, non quatenus Christiani.* See also SARAVIA, *de Imperandi Auctoritate et Christianâ Obedientiâ*, ii. c. 52. iii. c. 35.

Q. But you spoke of Scripture Examples as authorizing the Ecclesiastical supremacy of Kings?

A. Yes. The Leaders and Kings of God's own people of Israel had this authority. They were appointed by God to be *custodes utriusque tabulæ*, i. e. guardians of the *first* table of His Law as well

See below,
p. 314, 315.

Josh. i. 7, 8.
Deut. xvii.
18.

as of the *second*. His Law was never "to depart out of their mouth;" and they were "to read therein all the days of their life," and "to meditate therein day and night;" and "to turn from it neither to the right hand nor to the left." And therefore the Kings, by God's command, as soon as they were *enthroned*¹, were to transcribe with their own hands the Law into a book, from that of the Priests and Levites; and they who exercised this authority well and faithfully were spiritually and temporally blessed by God in

1 Kings xv.
3, 4. 11—15.
2 Chron.
xvii. 6.
xix. 4.
xxiv. 4.
xxix. 3.
xxxiv. 2.

themselves and in their people, and are commemorated in Scripture with special commendation by the Holy Spirit. This power was their trial, and the manner in which they exercised it was the very essence of their character².

¹ Bp. BILSON, *Christian Subjection*, p. 178—180. Therefore this touched not the king's private conversation as a man, but his princely function as a *magistrate*. Archbp. WHITGIFT's Sermon, Appendix, 42. Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, folio, p. 132. Bp. BEVERIDGE on XXXIX Articles. Art. xxxvii. vol. ii. p. 368.

² S. AUGUST. Epist. ad Bonifac. 50. (al. 185.) Omnes Reges qui in populo Dei non prohibuerunt nec everterunt quæ contra Dei præcepta fuerant instituta, culpantur; qui prohibuerunt et everterunt, super aliorum merita probantur.

Bp. BILSON, pp. 262—271.

Q. This is true; but we hear of nothing done for the Church of *Christ* by Sovereign Princes in the *New Testament*, nor of any power exercised by them in ecclesiastical affairs.

A. No. Kings had not yet become Christians; but they *were* to *become so*. As St. Augustine says¹, from the second Psalm, which is prophetic of the glories and triumphs of Christianity, "*Nondum implebatur illa prophetia* (of that Psalm), *Et nunc, Reges, intelligite; erudimini qui judicatis terram; servite Domino in timore;*" but *now*, he adds, that this prophecy of the Royal Psalmist *has been* fulfilled, and they *have* become Christians, "*Serviant Reges terræ Christo, legem ferentes pro Christo:*" and again, "*Rex, quia homo est, servit Deo, vivendo fideliter; quia vero etiam Rex est, servit, leges justa præcipientes et contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore sanciendo.*"

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¹ S. AUGUSTIN. ii. pp. 349, 350. 357. 446. 448. 594. 970. 976, 977. 983. 1143. 1161. iii. 1814. iv. 388. 783. 917. ed. Paris, 1836.

Q. Does he support this by any Scripture authority?

A. Yes. Hezekiah and Josiah (he adds ¹) served God by destroying the groves and high places and idolatrous temples; even the king of the Ninevites served Him by reducing his people to repentance and holiness of life; Darius served Him, by punishing the enemies of the prophet Daniel; even Nebuchadnezzar served Him by a severe law (*terribili lege*) against blasphemy. Who, therefore, (he asks,) after the completion of the prophecies which foretold that *adorabunt Eum omnes Reges, omnes Gentes servient Illi*, “all Kings shall fall down before Him (Christ), and all Nations shall do Him service,” “Who now in his sober senses will venture to say to *Christian* princes, Take *no* care who attacks and who maintains the Church of Christ; take no thought who among your subjects is religious, and who guilty of sacrilege? No, (he adds,) this cannot be; Kings serve God ² when they order what is good, and prohibit what is bad, not only in secular matters, but in *spiritual*. They *then* serve Him as Kings, when they do for Him what they *could not do unless they were Kings*; and let them bethink themselves, if they *fail* so to do, what account will they be able to render hereafter to Almighty God? This then (he concludes) is their duty,—to *maintain the peace of the Church*, whose *spiritual children they are*.”

¹ S. AUG. Epist. ad Bonifacium, ii. 977. Quis mente

sobrius Regibus dicat, Nolite curare in regno vestro à quo teneatur vel oppugnetur Ecclesia Domini vestri; non ad vos pertinet in regno vestro quis velit esse religiosus sive sacrilegus?

² S. AUG. c. Crescon. iii. 51. Tractat. in Joann. xi. Quomodo (aliter) redderent rationem de imperio suo Deo? Pertinet hoc ad reges sæculi Christianos, ut pacatam velint matrem suam Ecclesiam unde spiritualiter nati sunt.

Bp. BILSON, Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, chap. x. p. 206, ed. Oxf. 1842.

Q. These are indeed the words of St. Augustine; but were the same sentiments generally entertained by Christians after the empire became Christian?

A. Yes, universally; and he who would raise objections to the supreme power, both of *right* and *duty* as exercised in spiritual matters by the sovereigns of England, would be undermining the foundations of Reason on which all Christian Monarchy rests; he would be contravening the examples of the Old Testament¹, and the precepts of the New; he would be not only condemning the practice of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian², and all the great Christian Emperors and Kings, and especially those of England³; but impugning the judgment of all the wisest and most pious Fathers of the Church.

¹ BOOK OF WISDOM, chap. vi. ver. 1—6. Hear therefore, O ye Kings, and understand; learn, ye that be Judges of the ends of the earth. Give ear, ye that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of nations. For power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, Who shall try your works, and search out your counsels. Because, being Ministers of His Kingdom, ye have not judged aright, nor kept the law, nor walked after the counsel of God; horribly and speedily shall He come upon you: for a sharp

PART III. judgment shall be to them that be in high places. For mercy will soon pardon the meanest: but mighty men shall be mightily tormented.

Dent. xvii.
18.
Ps. ii. 10,
11.
Is. xlix. 23.
Rom. xiii. 4.
Luke xiv.
23.

Bp. BILSON, *Christian Subjection*, pp. 179. 183. If you deny that this is the prince's charge, to see the law of God fully executed, His Son rightly served, His Spouse safely nursed, His house timely filled, His enemies duly punished, you must countervail that which Moses prescribed, David required, Esay prophesied, Paul witnessed, and Christ commanded, with some better and sounder authority than theirs is.

² Bp. BILSON, *Christian Subjection*, pp. 189. 273. 280.

CONSTANTINE, *Epist. ad Ecclesias post Synod. Nicæn.*—Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. THEODOSIUS (says St. Ambrose) *morti vicinus potiore Ecclesiæ quàm imperii curam egit.* JUSTINIAN. *Novell.* 3. *Ea quæ sanctis Ecclesiis conducunt non minori nobis curæ sunt quàm ipsa anima.* Cod. Tit. i. l. iii. lib. i. *De Summâ Trinitate.* Decere arbitramur nostrum imperium subditos nostros de religione commonefacere; ita enim et plenior acquiri Dei ac Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi benignitatem possibile esse existimamus, si quando et nos pro viribus ipsi placere studuerimus et nostros subditos ad eam rem instituerimus.

S. LEO, *Epistola* xxi. ad Theodosium juniorem, A. D. 449. *Præter imperiales curas piissimam sollicitudinem Christianæ religionis habetis, ne in populo Dei schismata aut hæreses aut ulla scandala convallescant, quia tunc est optimus regni vestri status quando Sempiternæ Trinitati servitur gloriosissime.*

See also the answer of S. OPTATUS, iii. 3, to the question of the Donatists, "*Quid est Imperatori cum Ecclesiâ?*"

CASAUBON, *Ded. Exerc. Baron.* *Religionis aut neglectæ aut restitutæ decus dedecusve divina eloquia regibus non adscriberent si ad illorum officium ejus rei cura non pertineret.* Constantinus M., Theodosius, Justinianus, et omnes pii imperatores, *negotiis religionis quàm diligenter se immiscuerint, quis ignorat?*

Ample evidence will be found of this fact in the authorities cited by BARROW, *Pope's Supremacy*, pp. 227—234; GROT. *de Potestate*, 215. 244. 263. 269, 270; BINGHAM,

XVI. VI. 6. Archbp. WAKE, Authority of Christian Princes, CHAP. IV.
p. 10.

³ See Sir R. TWISDEN on Schism, pp. 97—100, for examples of exercise of regal power in matters ecclesiastical in England from the earliest time—and further, *ibid.* pp. 208—210. See above, p. 185, *Leges Edvardi Confessoris*.

PALMER on the Church, ii. 335.

Q. How did the diversity of God's dealings with the Church in its relation to Kings at *different* times conduce to *one* and the *same* end?

A. In the *first* ages of Christianity, to show the divine power of His Gospel, God maintained His Church, not only in *independence* of the aid of Kings, but even in *opposition* to their furious attacks; and He did *this* in such a glorious manner as to win Kings to His Church, for her and for themselves; but *when* He had so done, He completed the grand work, and consummated the sacred evidence of the divine truth and power of Christianity, by enlisting Kings in His service, and by making them Defenders of the Faith and Champions of the Church¹.

Matt. xi. 25.
1 Cor. i.
25—27.
ii. 8.
Ps. lxxviii.
12.

¹ S. CYRILL. Hierosol. Cat. xviii. Ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, πρότερον μὲν ἐν διωγμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσι, τοὺς ἀγίους μάρτυρας τοῖς τῆς ὑπομονῆς ποικίλοις καὶ πολυανθέσι ἐστεψεν στεφάνοις, νυνὶ δὲ ἐν καιροῖς εἰρήνης Θεοῦ χάριτι τὰ τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἔχει τιμῆς ὑπὸ βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς ὄντων καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων εἶδους τε καὶ γένους.

S. AMBROSE, Epist. xvii. to the Emperor Valentinian. Cum omnes homines, qui sub ditione Romanâ sunt, Vobis militent Imperatoribus terrarum atque Principibus, tum Ipsi Vos Omnipotenti Deo et sacræ Fidei militatis.

S. LEO M. Serm. xxxv. 96. Tantùm contulit fidei impugnatione persequentium, ut nihil magis Regium ornet principatum quàm quod domini mundi membra sunt Christi, nec

PART III. tam gloriantur quod in Imperio geniti, quàm gaudent quod in Baptismate sunt renati.

HESYCHIUS ad S. Augustin. (August. Opp. ii. p. 1112.)
Ex quo clementissimi Imperatores Christiani esse cœperunt, quanquam paulatim fides, causâ persecutionis, crescebat in sæculo, *factis regibus Christianis, ubique in parvo tempore Christi Evangelium penetravit.*

CASAUBON, de Lib. Eccl. ii. v. Epist. p. 189.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Q. WHAT is the title which describes the English Sovereign's relation to the Church of England?

A. The Sovereign of England is styled "supreme Governor over all persons, in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil," in his own dominions¹.

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxvii. The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of *England* and *other her dominions*, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

CANONS, 1603. Canons 1, 2. 36.

King CHARLES I. Declaration prefixed to XXXIX Articles.

Q. Therefore *no foreign power*, such as that of the Bishop of Rome, has any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this kingdom?

A. None¹.

¹ See above, p. 188, 189.

CANONS, 1603. Can. xxxvi. The Queen's Majesty under God is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal, and no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within her Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

Q. And the Sovereign is supreme *over all spiritual*, as well as *secular persons*?

A. Yes; St. Paul teaches us that "*every soul* Rom. xiii. 1. is to be subject to the higher powers" (*ἑξουσίαις*)¹; 1 Pet. ii. 3. St. Peter that we are to "submit to the King as Above, *Supreme*;" and *spiritual* persons, being enjoined p. 268, 269. in Scripture to put others "in mind to be subject Tit. iii. 1. to principalities and powers," and "to obey magistrates," are specially bound to practise the obedience which they are enjoined to preach.

¹ Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 174. He that speaketh to *all* exempteth *none*: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers* (Rom. xiii. 1). In these words clergiemmen be not excepted, *ergo* comprised.—P. 176. Christ Himself was a priest and a prophet, yet He not only submitted Himself to the Roman Governor, but confessed the President's power over Him to be from Heaven. S. Paul appealed unto Cæsar, and appeared before Cæsar as his lawful Governor. S. Jude detested them for false prophets that despised Governments, or spake evil of Rulers. It is *no religion*, it is *rebellion* against God, for clergiemmen to exempt themselves from the Prince's power. The command is general: *Let every soul be subject*. The punishment is eternal: Whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.—P. 177. Of the Clergy and the Laity, the Clergy must rather obey, that they may be teachers of obedience; not in words only but in deeds also: they must not hinder their doctrine by their doings.

HOOKER, V. LXII. 9.

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Q. Do then *spiritual* persons derive their *spiritual* power from Kings?

A. No; from no *human* source. The Sovereign is supreme over all persons, and *in* all causes, but not *over* all causes¹. Spiritual persons derive their spiritual power from Christ *alone*; but the authority to *exercise*² it *actually* and *legally* upon particular *persons*, and in particular places, as dioceses and parishes,—*this* they derive from laws, ecclesiastical and civil, and from the Sovereign who, by his royal assent, is the *efficient* cause of law³.

¹ Bp. BILSON, *Christian Subjection*, p. 173. We confess princes to be supreme *governors* of their realms and dominions; *in* all spiritual things and causes, but not *of* the things themselves, but of all their subjects.

See above, p. 116, and Pt. i. ch. xii., and below, chap. vii. p. 323—325.

² Archbp. LAUD, Speech at the censure of Bastwick. (*Remains*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 68.) Our being Bishops *jure divino* takes nothing from the King's right or power over us. For though our *office* be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not *exercise* that power, either of Order or Jurisdiction, but as God has *appointed* us; that is, not in His Majesty's or any Christian King's Kingdoms, but by and under the power of the King given us so to do.

³ Bp. SANDERSON, *Prælect.* VII. c. v--viii.

Q. May not then the Church of England be called a *Royal* and *State* Church?

A. No; not unless the *Primitive* Church might have been so called, after the empire became Christian. It would be ingratitude and impiety to suppose, that the Church of God is *injured* by the fulfilment of His promises to her! and that her spiritual constitution is impaired, because, according to His gracious prophecy, "Kings have

Above,
p. 268.

Isa. xlix. 7.
23.

become her nursing-fathers, and Queens her nursing-mothers;" and temporal laws have been made in her behalf¹. CHAP. V.

¹ HOOKER, VIII. VI. 10.

Q. You speak of the ancient Church, but is not what is called in England the Oath of Royal Supremacy of *modern* date? Above,
p. 188, 189.

A. The *principle* of the Royal Supremacy is coeval with the English monarchy, and, indeed, with *all Christian monarchy*. And with respect to the *declaration* of this principle, it is found, not only in the Oath of Supremacy¹, but in the ancient Statutes² of the Realm; and it must be remembered that the *assertion* of the Royal Supremacy, in this Oath, being a *defensive protest*³ against modern usurpations, and being designed to *exclude* all other Supremacy, became more necessary in proportion as the usurpations, against which it was a safeguard, became more prevalent and dangerous.

¹ 25, 26, and 28 Henry VIII. c. 7, A.D. 1536. GIBSON'S Codex, pp. 22—24.

² As in 16 Richard II. c. 5, A.D. 1392 (GIBSON'S Codex, p. 74). So the Crown of England, which hath been so free *at all times* that it hath been *in no earthly subjection*, but immediately subject to God, in all things touching the regality of the same crown, and to no other, should be submitted to the Popes, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the King our Lord, his crown, his regality, and of all his realm; which God defend!

³ HOOKER, VIII. II. 3. Supremacy is no otherwise intended or meant than to *exclude* partly *foreign* powers, and partly the power which belongeth in several unto others contained as parts within that politic body over which those kings have supremacy.

Q. To what usurpations do you refer?

A. On the one hand, to those of the *Bishop of*

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Rome, who, if he had his will, would not allow princes to do any thing in ecclesiastical matters in their own kingdoms unless he gave them leave¹; and on the other, to the principles of the *Puritanical Discipline*, which, in *this respect*, as in several others, are identical with the *Popish*².

¹ HOOKER, VIII. II. 14. What persons devoted to the *Papacy* yield that princes may do, it is with secret exception always understood, *if* the Bishop of Rome give leave. Our own *Reformers* (i. e. the maintainers of the *Puritan Discipline*) do the very like. See VIII. iv. 9, and VIII. vi. 12, and Bp. TAYLOR, below, p. 307.

² Archbp. BANCROFT, Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline, 1593, p. 240—258. The *Puritans* take from Christian princes, and ascribe to their own pretended regiments, the supreme authority under Christ in causes ecclesiastical; and thus they join with the *Papist*.

Bp. SANDERSON, on Episcopacy, xvi. p. 41. The rest [i.e. the other Religious Communities, *Popish and Puritanical*] (not by *remote* inferences, but) by *immediate* and *natural* deduction out of their own acknowledged principles, do someway or other deny the *King's supremacy* in matters Ecclesiastical; either claiming a power of jurisdiction over him, or pleading a privilege of exemption from under him. The *Papists* do it *both* ways; in their several doctrines of the Pope's Supremacy, and of the Exemption of the Clergy. The *Puritans* of both sorts who think they have sufficiently confuted every thing they have a mind to mislike, if they have once pronounced it *Popish* and *Anti-christian*,) do yet *herein* (as in *very many other things*, and some of them of the most dangerous consequence) *symbolize with the Papists*, and after a sort divide that branch of *Anti-christianism* wholly between them: the *Presbyterians* claiming to their *Consistories* as full and absolute Spiritual Jurisdiction over Princes (with power even to excommunicate them, if they shall see cause for it,) as the *Papists* challenge to belong to the *Pope*: and the *Independents* exempting their *Congregations* from all spiritual subjection to them, in as ample manner as the *Papists* do their Clergy. Whereas the *English Protestant Bishops* and *Regular Clergy*, as becometh

good Christians and good subjects, do neither pretend to any Jurisdiction over the Kings of *England*, nor withdraw their subjection from them; but acknowledge them to have Sovereign Power over them as well as over their other subjects. See also Archbp. WAKE'S Appeal, Pref. p. iii.

Q. But is not the sovereign of England sometimes styled *Head of the Church*?

A. No; not by those who speak properly. To satisfy the scruples of some who objected to it, that title was laid aside by Queen Elizabeth, and exchanged for that of "*Supreme Governor* over all persons, in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil," and it has not been borne by any English monarch since that time¹.

¹ HOOKER, VIII. IV. 8. Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 29, and the notes of the learned Editor. Bp. GIBSON'S CODEX, p. 45, note.

Q. In what does this supremacy consist?

A. To speak *generally*, and reserving the *particular* modes of its exercise for future consideration (below, chap. vi.) the sovereign's office as "supreme Governor over all persons in all causes" in the Church, is "to maintain it in the unity of true religion¹;" not to suffer "any unnecessary questions to be raised;" "to have a princely care, that Churchmen may do the work which is proper to them;" to "contain within their duty all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God;" and "to restrain the stubborn and evil-doers with the power of the civil sword."

¹ K. CHARLES I. Declaration prefixed to XXXIX Articles, Art. xxxvii. CANONS of 1603, Canons i. ii. CANONS of 1640, Canon i. See above, p. 188. 300, 301.

OFFICE for the QUEEN'S ACCESSION, Book of Common Prayer.—Blessed Lord, Who hast called Christian princes to the defence of Thy Faith, and hast made it their duty to

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To show that the Principles here stated are consistent with the doctrine of other branches of the Catholic Church, it may be observed, that Archbp. PLATON, Metropolitan of Moscow, in his *Ὁρθόδοξος Διδασκαλία*, authorized by common use in the *Eastern Church*, (Koray's Greek version, Athens, 1836, p. 135,) thus speaks on this subject :—"Christian kings are the prime guardians and champions of the Church, and are *bound to provide* (*χρεωστοῦσι νὰ φροντίζωσι*) for the *welfare of the Church, as for that of the State*. The Christian Church demands of princes, first that they be learned in God's law (Deut. xvii. 18) ; secondly, that they be examples of piety and virtue to all men ; thirdly, that they take care that the Church be well governed (*εὐτάκτως*), and that they encourage faithful ministers and governors ; fourthly, that they repress schism, and defend the Church from persecutors and scoffers ; fifthly, that they propagate true religion, and provide suitable maintenance for its teachers. Hence every one may see clearly how closely the body politic is united with the Church (*βλέπει πᾶς ἕνας πόσον εἶναι σφικτὰ ἠνωμέναι ἡ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία καὶ Ἑκκλησία*). And since the sovereign of a Christian state *has no superior upon earth*, and no one in this world can recompense him for these his labours, he lives on the faithful assurance of attaining hereafter an unfailing and inestimable reward."

To this may be added the following testimony of the Greek presbyter, CONSTANTINUS ŒCONOMUS, *περὶ τῶν τριῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας βαθμῶν* : Nauplia, 1835, p. 318. We honour princes as pastors of their people, according to God's ordinance ; we honour the king ; we make prayers for all men, for kings and all in authority. To the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and all other Churches in which the sovereign is

reverenced as the supreme governor, we say, Let this your custom prevail, as seems to you good; and may all your Christian people be blessed by God, and your sovereign reign and prosper for evermore!

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Q. But does not the ascription of these powers in Ecclesiastical matters to the Civil Magistrate lead to what is termed *Erastianism*?

A. *Erastianism* (so called from *Erastus*, a physician of Heidelberg, whose work on Church government appeared in 1589, after the author's death) appears to have owed its rise and influence to the domineering claims¹ of the Genevan Ecclesiastical Regimen in the infliction of Church censures². *This* Genevan Regimen, seeing³ no *other mode* of overthrowing Episcopacy, (and perceiving that *this* mode might probably be successful,) enlisted the *Laitie* on its side by associating *Lay* Elders with *Presbyters* in the exercise of spiritual discipline, *contrary to all former practice in the Church*⁴. But by so doing it led the way to its own destruction; for it thus lent its countenance to the *principle* of *Erastianism*, which being exasperated by the spiritual pride and tyranny of the Calvinistic discipline, turned the Calvinistic weapon of the *Lay-eldership*, by which Presbyterianism had overthrown Episcopacy, *against Presbyterianism itself*, and proceeded to transfer the power of Excommunication *entirely* to *Lay* hands, and to vest it in the *Civil Tribunals*.

Above,
p. 304, 305.

¹ See ZURICH LETTERS, Second series, Epist. c. p. 154.

² Bp. TAYLOR, xiii. 471. The Presbytery pretends mightily to the Sceptre of Christ, as the Pope does to the Keys of St. Peter; and they will have all Kings submit to that.

³ HOOKER, VI. I. 2, with Mr. Keble's Note.

⁴ Archbp. BANCROFT, Survey of the Pretended Holy Dis-

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cipline, Lond. 1593, p. 23. By reason of the great authority that the *Preachers* had intituled the *Civil Magistrates* to, for the banishment of their *Bishop*, Calvin very wisely considered with Farellus and Viretus, that, if they took that course, (of making his Ecclesiastical Senate consist *solely* of *Ministers*,) he should find *unresistible opposition*. And their device therefore was, that their Ecclesiastical Senate should consist of *Twelve Citizens*, to be *chosen yearly*, and but of *Six Ministers*, who were to *continue* for their *lives*. And this was the *first time*, for aught I find, that the *Consistorian Discipline* ever drew breath.

Q. But did Erastianism limit itself to the question of the power of excommunication?

A. No; its partisans in England, about the year 1645, went on still further to maintain that all the authority of the Church consisted only in *persuasion*¹; that *no* Church government was of *divine right*, but was merely of *human* constitution, depending wholly on the will of the *secular* magistrate. The Erastians, then, having made a league with the Independents, overthrew the Presbyterian power in England. But the assertors of Erastian opinions were powerful not so much by *their own arguments*², as by the *errors* of their *adversaries* the Presbyterians; and if they had enjoyed³ such a form of government as that of the English Constitution in Church and State, where the *spiritual power is vested solely, by divine right, in spiritual persons*, and where the Civil magistrate has such a general *external* control “over all *persons in all causes*” as to check all unlawful *exertion* of authority, Erastianism would either never have existed at all, or would never have gained the influence which it did⁴.

¹ BUDDÆI Isagoge, i. p. 734. Censebant Erastiani Eccle-

sic nullum regimen, nullam potestatem per censuras excommunicationem inprimis applicandi à verbo Dei datam esse; potestatem clavium in solo verbi præconio consistere; et Ecclesiam Magistratui Christiano subjectam omnem auctoritatem ex merâ Magistratûs delegatione derivare.

RUTHERFORD, *Divine Right of Church Government*, London, 1646, p. 537. GILLESPIE, *Aaron's Rod*, Lond. 1646, p. 161. BAILLIE'S *Letters*, ii. p. 149, ed. 1775. HUGHES, *Pref. ad S. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio*, p. cxx. HEY on the XXXVIITH ARTICLE. KEBLE, *Pref. to Hooker's Works*, 2d ed. p. lviii.

² HAMMOND on the Power of the Keys, i. p. 429, folio. In taking up his opinion and maintaining it, Erastus had more to impute to Beza and the Genevans' *errors*, innovations, and excesses, than to *his own arguments*. See Hooker, *Preface*, § 2.

Bp. SANDERSON, *Prælect. vii. 29*, p. 208, gives a very clear and concise summary of the *Papal, Puritan, and Erastian* theories of Church Government.

³ HAMMOND, *ibid.* p. 247. With respect to the quarrel of Erastus against Excommunication, I shall give you no other account of it than what from himself I have received; certain it is that the fabric of the Church of England would never have provoked him to this enmity, if he had lived here under the best, or perhaps the worst, days of our Episcopacy.

⁴ Archdeacon POTT, in his work entitled the Rights of Sovereignty in Christian States defended, &c., a charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of London, 1828, has shown, with great learning, how the Doctrine of the xxxviith Article (in illustration of which he cites Hooker, Bp. Sanderson, Bp. Andrewes, and Bp. Bilson) is an effectual safeguard against Erastianism on one side, and Popery and Puritanism on the other. "In a word, (says he, p. 24,) the personal union of the Church and Commonwealth, where the same individuals compose both, cannot be denied: but this does not destroy the natural distinction of societies, or cancel those rights which belong essentially to each. The *spiritual Pastor* retains his privilege, of which he cannot be divested; and the *sovereign Power* keeps its supremacy within those

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limits which the word of God and the known ends of government must always put. It is impossible to deny that this supremacy may be exercised in things relating to religion by the sovereign power in Christian states, unless we will take one of these opinions, either that the Christian character itself (1) *excludes* all such dominion: or (2) *restrains* it to a fancied reign of *Christ* on earth, distinct from his universal rule; or (3) confines it to his *Ministers* alone; or (4) vests it in some supposed *Vicegerent*, to whom it is thought to be derived. All these notions have had their turn in the world, and are most opposite to Scripture, Reason, and the Judgment (conformable to both) upon which the model of our own happy and well-settled Government in Church and State hath been established.

“By defending the capacity and privileges of sovereign powers to bear sway in all causes that are left free to discretion, and by showing at the same time the perpetual exceptions to things determined and provided by Divine authority, Mr. Hooker has for ever overthrown both the wild suggestions of *Erastian* theorists, and the groundless claim of a perpetual *Empire in the Church*, independent, even in Christian countries, on the sovereign power.”

Q. You attribute, then, to the Sovereign of England a *sacred* as well as a civil character?

A. Certainly, as the laws of the land do, which give to the King the title of Sacred Majesty.

Q. And does the *Church of England* recognize this *sacred* character in the Kings and Queens of England?

A. Yes; and therefore the Sovereigns of England, at their Coronation, having taken the Coronation Oath, are first anointed with holy oil, and are blessed and “consecrated Kings over the people, whom the Lord their God has given them to rule and govern¹,” they then receive the sword from God’s Holy Table, to be used by them as ministers of God, “for the punishment of evil-

doers, and the protection of the holy Church of God ;” they then receive the “ orb set under the cross,” that they may remember that “ the whole world is subject to the power and empire of Christ their Redeemer, Who is the Prince of the kings of the earth, King of kings, and Lord of lords ; so that no man can reign happily who derives not his authority from Him, and directs not all his actions by His laws :” and when they afterwards receive the Ring, “ the ensign of kingly dignity, and of defence of the Catholic Faith,” and the Sceptre and the Crown, the badges of kingly power and justice, and the Rod of equity and mercy, they “ in lowly devotion bow the head to God,” and acknowledge that they rule by Him, and, when enthroned, that they sit in *judgment* under Him, which that they may the better discharge, they receive the Holy Bible from the altar of God.

¹ OFFICE for the CORONATION of the Kings and Queens of England. See also the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, in which the designation ‘ *most religious* ’ is applied to the Sovereign as an *official attribute*.

HOOKE, VIII. II. 14. Crowned we see our kings are and enthronized and anointed : the crown a sign of military, the throne of sedentary or judicial, the oil of *religious* or *sacred* power.

Archbp. LAUD’s Sermons, vi. p. 151. And the eye of nature could see *aliquid Divinum* (Arist. Ethic. i. 2,) somewhat that was Divine in the governors and orderers of Commonwealths. In their very office : Inasmuch as they are singled out to be the ministers of Divine Providence upon earth, and are expressly called the officers of God’s Kingdom, Sap. 6. And therefore the School concludes that any the least irreverence of a King *Sacrilegium dicitur*, is justly extended to be called Sacrilege. And since all *Sacrilege* is a violation of some thing that is *holy*, it is evident

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that the office and person of the King is *sacred*, and therefore cannot be violated by the Hand, Tongue, or Heart, of any man, that is, by deed, word, or thought; but 'tis God's cause, and He is violated in him. And here kings may learn that those men which are sacrilegious against God and His Church, are for the very neighbourhood of the sin the likeliest men to offer violence to the *Honour of Princes* first, and their *Persons* after.—(This last sentence, written in the year 1628, was *prophetic*.)

Q. You speak of the Sovereign having a *Sacred* character, but you do not mean, I suppose, that the Sovereign, as supreme governor, claims any power of performing any *sacred function* in the Church; such as the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, the exercise of the power of the Keys, or in propounding articles of Faith, or in conferring Holy Orders?

A. Certainly not. The Kings of England challenge *no such authority in the Church*; on the contrary, they have always *protested against*¹ any such ascription whenever it has been imputed to them; their office is *not* in their own persons *to minister*, but *to exercise royal care* that they who *are appointed to minister* in the Church, *do* that which they are *appointed to do*. Theirs is what is called a δύναμις οἰκονομικὴ, or ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ, i.e. a power to distribute and regulate, a power, *not to build*, but *to rule the builders*. Herein, *imperantis est, non imperata facere, sed imperando facere ut fiant*², the commander *effects not* what is commanded, but *by commanding, he effects* that it *may be effected*;—and this power is exercised by them, *not* in any *new or arbitrary* manner, but *according to the received laws* of the Church; for, as was before said,

Above,
p. 186.

Below,

ch. vi. & vii.

“*Rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest*.”

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxvii. Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S Admonition; Bp. Gibson, Codex p. 54, note. Her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects, how by the words of the Oath of Supremacy it may be collected that the Kings or Queens of this realm may challenge authority and power of Ministry of Divine Service in the Church, whereby her said subjects are much abused by such evil-disposed persons. Her Majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority than that which is and was of *ancient time* due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, *under God* to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of *persons* born within her realms, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other *foreign power* shall or ought to have any superiority over them.

HOOKE, VIII. III. 4. CASAUBON, de Libert. Eccles. ii. v. Epist. p. 187. Sir R. TWISDEN on Schism, p. 94. Abp. BRAMHALL, ii. 219, 220. Bp. STILLINGFLEET, Eccles. Cases, on Jurisdict. ii. 97.

² GROTIUS, de Imperio Potestatum summarum circa Sacra, p. 240. 245.

³ HOOKE, VIII. II. 17. *For* the received laws and liberty of the Church the King hath *supreme* authority, but *against* them *none*.

The comprehensiveness, perspicuity, and authoritative character of the annexed note, on the important subject of

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Exod.
xxxii. 4.
1 Reg. xii.
28.

Bp. ANDREWES, Tortura Torti, p. 380. Primò, sub *Primatús* nomine Papatum novum Rex non invehit in Ecclesiam ; sic enim statuit, ut non *Aaroni Pontifici*, ita nec *Jero-boamo Regi* jus ullum esse, conflatum à se Vitulum populo proponendi, ut adoret, (id est) non vel *fidei novos articulos* vel *cultús Divini novas formulas* procudendi.

2 Chron.
xxvi. 16.
2 Sam. vi. 6.

Neque verò id agit Rex, ne patitur quidem, ut sibi potestas sit, vel *incensum adolendi cum Ozá*, vel *Arcam attrahendi cum Ozá*.

Docendi munus, vel dubia Legis explicandi, non assumit, non vel *Conciones* habendi, vel *Rei Sacræ* præeundi, vel *Sacramenta* celebrandi ; non vel personas *sacrandi*, vel res ; non vel *clavium* jus, vel *censuræ*. Verbo dicam ; nihil ille sibi, nihil nos illi fas putamus attingere, quæ ad *Sacerdotale munus* spectant, seu *potestatem Ordinis* consequuntur. Procul hæc habet Rex ; procul à se abdicat.

Atqui in his quæ *Exterioris* Politicæ sunt, ut præcipiat, suo sibi jure vendicat ; nosque adeo illi lubentes meritò deferimus. *Religionis enim curam* rem *Regiam* esse, non modo Pontificiam, et IN REGIIS PRIMAM, quamque ille non solùm *foris* ab externâ vi, sed et *domi* ab incuriâ hominum asserere teneatur.

Deut. xvii.
18.
Jos. i. 8.
Rom. xiii. 1.

Nam cùm Lege ipsâ Dei custos sit et vindex, non *secundæ* modò *tabulæ*, sed et *primæ*, primæ quoque ad se curam pertinere putat, et *primam primæ*. Et cùm *omnis anima ei subjici jubetur*, animæ etiam consultum vult, magis autem id quàm *corpori*.

Dan. iii. 29.
Jonah iii. 7.
Est. ix. 26.
1 Mac. iv.
56. 59.

Vis illa dicam sigillatim quæ sint ? Quodcunque in rebus Religionis Reges *Israel* fecerunt, nec sine laude fecerunt, id ut ei faciendi jus sit ac potestas. Leges auctoritate Regiâ ferendi ne blasphemetur Deus, non negabitis ; fecit *Rex Babel* ; ut jejuniò placetur Deus, fecit *Rex Ninive* ; ut festo honoretur, fecit *Ester* cùm Purim, *Machabæus* cùm Encænâ promulgaret. Denique iis omnibus de rebus, de quibus in *Codice*, in *Authenticis*, in *Capitularibus* à Constantino, Theodosio, Justiniano, Carolo Magno, Leges latæ leguntur.

Tum, delegandi qui de Lege sic latâ judicent, quod *Josaphat*. Tum subditos, ne sic latam violent, juramento obstringendi, quod et *Asa* et *Josias*. CHAP. V.
2 Chron.
xix. 8.

Quod siqui in Leges ita latas committant, etsi Religionis ea causa sit, sive *Pseudopropheta* crimen est, sive *Idololatrae*, sive *Blasphemi*, sive *Sacra polluentis*, in eos auctoritate Regiâ animadvertendi. xv. 14.
xxxiv. 32.
Deut. xiii.
5. 10.
Lev. xxiv.
23.

Conventus auctoritate suâ indicendi, etiam de Arcâ reducendâ, et figendâ loco suo, quod fecit *David*: etiam de populo ad Dei cultum revocando, quod *Josaphat*: etiam de Templo dedicando, quod *Salomon*: collapsio instaurando, quod *Joas*: polluto purificando, quod *Ezekias*. Num. xv.
35.
1 Chron.
xiii. 2.
2 Chron.
xix. 4.
1 Reg. viii.
64.

Quamquam verò, non frustrâ sibi præceptum putat a Deo, ut describat sibi *Legis exemplar*, secum habeat semper, legat sedulò, dies noctesque meditetur, condiscat inde cultum Dei vel ad ipsas usque Ceremonias; nec hoc illi dictum, ut totus ab alieno ore pendeat, ipseque a se nihil planè dijudicet: In his tamen *Os Eleazari*, non invitus consulit et requirit legem ab iis, quorum labia scientiam custodiunt: adhibebit in sacris legibus ferendis, quos adhibere par est, quosque ratio suadet, rerum illarum consultissimos, deque iis optime respondere posse. Et in his, quæ ad Deum pertinent, *Amariam Sacerdotem*, non *Zabadiam Ducem* jubebit præsidere. 2 Chron.
xxiv. 4.
xxix. 5.
Deut. xvii.
19.
Jos. i. 8.
Num. xxvii.
21.
Mal. ii. 7.

Quoad *Personas*, omnibus omnium Ordinum jus dicendi: qui sit (dicam stilo Scripturæ) *Caput Tribus Levi*, non minùs quam cæterarum, nec minùs Clericorum quàm Laicorum Rex: contra *Abiathar* siquis *superbierit*, *Decreto* suo compescendi: etiam *Abiathar* ipsum, si ita meritus, pontificatu abdicandi. 1 Sam. xv.
17.
Deut. xvii.
12.
1 Reg. ii. 27.

Quoad *Res*, excelsa diruendi; id est, peregrinum cultum abolendi; nec modò *Vitulum aureum* ab Aarone conflatum, quod *Moses*, sed et *Serpentem æneum* à Mose erectum confringendi, quod *Ezechias*; et sive in idololatriam abeat *Vitulus aureus*, sive in superstitionem *Serpens æneus*, utrumque comminuendi. Exod.
xxxii. 20.
2 Reg.
xviii. 4.

Nam de rebus, quæ ad decorem Domûs Dei spectant, quæ dici solent *Adiaphora* statuendi, quod *Joas*; et quæ materia schismatis esse assolent, fuitiles et inutiles quæstiones, auctoritate suâ compescendi, quod *Constantinus*; ne vos quidem ipsi negatis jus esse. 2 Chron.
xxiv. 12.

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Postremò ; si de Christianis exemplum malitis, id postulat, ut Episcopus sit τῶν ἐκτὸς, quod *Constantinus* : ut *Rector Religionis*, quod non modò *Carolus Magnus*, sed et *Ludovicus Pius*.

Hæc Primatûs apud nos jura sunt, ex jure Divino.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE ROYAL SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND.*In Ecclesiastical Synods.*

Q. In what *manner* is the supreme power exercised by the Sovereign in the Church of England?

A. In four ways, *viz.*

1. *Citatio* ; or the convoking and dissolving Ecclesiastical Councils or Synods, and presiding in the same.
2. *Assensio* ; or the right of assenting to the decrees of those Synods (provided they be not contrary to the laws and customs of the land) before they become law.
3. *Promotio* ; or, “the advancement of principal Church governors to their places of prelacy¹.”
4. *Judicatio* ; or, “higher judicial authority than others are capable of¹.”

¹ HOOKER, VIII. II. 1.

Q. Have Christian Princes always possessed the power of convoking and presiding at Ecclesiastical Synods?

Q. Yes. Before the Empire became Christian, CHAP. VI.
the Church had no General Synod; and no
General or National Council was ever regarded as
legal, unless convened with the consent of the
Ruler of the country where it was held ¹.

¹ See the note at the end of this chapter.

XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxi. General Councils may not
be gathered together without the commandment and will of
Princes; and Bp. BEVERIDGE on Art. XXXVII. p. 373.

CANONS of 1603, Preface; Canon cxxxix. HOOKER, V.
I. 2. Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. 30. 171.

BARROW, Pope's Supremacy, 185. Nothing can be more
evident than that the emperors at their will and by their
authority did *congregate* all the first general Synods.—186.
188. 191. 193. It inseparably doth belong to sovereigns in
the General Assemblies of their states to *preside* and mode-
rate affairs; proposing, stopping, controuling (in person or
by proxy, p. 194—203).

Parliamentary Report on Roman Catholic Regulations in
Foreign States, 1816, p. 159. Note in Christian Institutes,
iii. p. 254.

Q. And Councils therefore were *not* summoned
by the *Bishops of Rome*?

A. No: there is *no* instance of any Council,
claiming to be General, convoked by the Bishop of
Rome for *more than a thousand years after Christ* ¹.

¹ CARDINAL CUSANUS de Concord. Eccles. ii. cap. 25.
Ex illo tempore quo Imperatores Christiani esse cœperunt,
ex illorum nutu pendere visa sunt negotia Ecclesiæ, atque
adeo maxima Concilia ex eorum sententiâ convocabantur,
ut ex Eusebio, Socrate, Sozomeno, Nicephoro patet. *Octo
prima Generalia Concilia* ab Imperatoribus erant collecta, et
Pontifex Romanus, ad instar *aliorum Patriarcharum*, divales
(h. e. imperatorias) sacras jussiones pro veniendo aut mit-
tendo ad Concilia recepit. CASAUBON, de Lib. Eccles. iii. 11.
Epist. p. 192.

Bp. ANDREWES on the Right and Power of calling Assem-
blies, 4to, 1606, p. 45, vol. v. 141—168. Thus farre the

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trumpet giveth a certaine sound. Now after this there is a great silence in the volumes of the Councils in a manner for the space of 200 yeres, until the yere 1180 or thereabout, when the Council of Lateran was; and then indeed the case was altered. By that time had the Bishop of Rome got one of the trumpets away, and carried with him to Rome, so leaving princes but one. *But so long they held it.*

The student will find a clear account of the practice used in the convocation of Church Synods, in Father SARPI'S History of the Council of Trent, Book ii. ad ann. 1545. See also the note at the end of this chapter.

Q. What is the National Synod of the English Church called?

A. The Convocation.

Q. Is the Convocation a Representative assembly?

A. Yes; in the words of the Canon Law of England, "The sacred Synod of this nation, assembled in the name of Christ, and by the King's authority, is the true Church of England by Representation¹."

¹ CANONS of 1603. Canon 139. CARDWELL, Synodalia, Preface, x—xxiii.

Q. If then, as that Canon Law declares¹, "the Convocation be the representation of the Church," "both Clergy and Laity," "absent and present," can it be said that "the Canons of the Church do not bind the Laity?"

A. Canons Ecclesiastical have no authority against Statute or Common Law, or against the Royal Prerogative; but, as Chief Justice Coke says, "when the Convocation makes Canons concerning matters which properly appertain to them, and the Sovereign has confirmed them, they are binding on the whole realm²."

¹ CANONS of 1603. Canons 139, 140. 25th HENRY VIII. CHAP. VI.
18.

² Lord Chief Justice COKE, in GIBSON'S Codex, p. xxix. Vaughan, 327, *ibid.* p. xxviii. A lawful Canon is the law of the kingdom, as well as an Act of Parliament. Whatever is the law of the kingdom is as much the law as any thing else that is so.

Q. You say, "when the Sovereign has confirmed them;" is then the Regal Power exerted in *making laws for the Church*?

A. No; it is not concerned in the *framing* of those laws, any more than of secular laws, but in their *ratification*, (wherein by its *royal assent* it is their *efficient cause*,) and in *preventing* the enactment of such laws as may not be conducive to the welfare of the community ¹.

Below,
p. 329, 330.
Above,
p. 302.

¹ KING CHARLES I., Declaration, prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, (penned by Abp. LAUD, see Bp. Pearson, Minor Works, ii. 171.) Out of our Princely care that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy from time to time in Convocation, upon their humble desire, shall have licence under our Broad Seal to *deliberate* of and to *do* all such things as, being *made plain* by them, and *assented* to by us, shall concern the *settled continuance* of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established.

CASAUBON, de Lib. Eccles. ii. v. Imperatores Pii, quæ Patres in Ecclesiâ decreverant, ea ut reciperentur à *populo universo* sanciebant. See *ibid.* iii. iii.

BARROW, Pope's Supr. 206. The effectual confirmation of Synods, which gave them the force of laws, depended on the Imperial sanction.—P. 207. By long prescription, commencing with the first General Synod, did the Emperor enjoy this prerogative.

HOOKE, VIII. VI. GROTIUS, de Potestate, p. 262. Abp. BRAMHALL, i. 146. 272. Bp. ANDREWES, Tortura Torti, ed. 1629, p. 165, thus states the ancient and uniform practice of Christendom with respect to the *Convocation* of Ecclesiastical

PART III. Synods, and the *ratification* of their decrees by the Imperial power :—

Refero jam verba, loca etiam cito, Conciliorum Quatuor Generalium, è quibus illa constet Imperatorum auctoritate convocata. NICÆNUM I. Constantini auctoritate, ex Concilii ipsius Synodicâ Epistolâ; Convocata est (hæc Synodus) Dei amantissimo Rege Constantino congregante nos ex variis urbibus et provinciis. CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM PRIMUM, Theodosii Senioris, ex Concilii ipsius Epistolâ; Convenientes secundum rescriptum Pietatis tuæ; et ibidem, literis vocationis tuæ Ecclesiam honorasti. EPHESINUM, Theodosii Junioris et Valentiniani. Nam et Imperatores jubent, suo Oraculo cogi; et Concilium septem Epistolis septies fatetur se, nutu auctoritatis vestræ coactum, et aliis multis secundum oraculum, mandatum, rescriptum, toties, verbis tam disertis, ut nihil Ephesino clarius, nihil planius. CHALCEDONENSE, Valentiniani et Martiani. Quod, præterquam frons ipsa loquitur, facta est Synodus ex decreto piissimorum et fidelissimorum Imperatorum Valentiniani et Martiani, Concilium quoque ipsum Epistolâ suâ fatetur; Sancta et magna Synodus, secundum Dei gratiam et sanctionem vestræ Pietatis congregata. Tum et in definitione ipsâ expressè idem habetur, et ab illis denique missionem petunt, ut et Ephesini.

Possent et quatuor alia hic Generalia subungi, nisi tu hoc non postulâsses; pòst, ubi postulas, faxo ut illa habeas. (vide ibid. p. 346.)

Submisisse autem sese Imperatori, ab eoque confirmationem suam habuisse, profero tibi verba, cito loca. NICÆNUM à Constantino; et Synodi decreta confirmans consignavit. CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM à Theodosio; ex ipsâ Concilii ad eum Epistolâ. Necessariò quæ facta sunt in Sacrà Synodo ad Pietatem tuam referimus. Petimus autem, ut Clementiæ tuæ scripto confirmetur Synodi sententia, et quemadmodum honorâsti nos literis tuis cum huc convocares, ita et eorum quæ decreta sunt clausulam velis etiam obsignare. EPHESINUM à Theodosio et Valentiniano, ex Concilii ipsius Epistolâ. Unde confugimus omnes ad auctoritatem Pietatis vestræ, petentes, ut quæ contra Nestorium acta sunt, eosque qui cum eo decipiunt, habeant vim suam atque robur; quæ verò ab illis qui Nestorium vindicant vacua sint atque irrita. CHALCEDONENSE à Martino: Sacro

nostro Serenitatis Edicto venerandam Synodum confirmantes. CHAP. VII.
En tibi loca; en verba.

Fateris autem *jussu Imperatoris congregata Concilia*, sed addis *interdum*. Dele verò *interdum*, vel designa nobis GENERALE UNUM ALIQUOD de primis illis octo, et doce *absque illius jussu* convocatum. Sed nec *interdum* etiam vis factum hoc fuisse ab Imperatore, nisi in *executione mandati summi Pontificis*, ubi, quid tu *summum Pontificem* crepas, vel *mandatum* ejus, vel *Executorem mandati Pontifici Cæsarem*? Nullum tum quidem *Pontificis mandatum*, quin submissa supplicatio; nec *Pontifex* tum *mandavit*, sed *Cæsar*; nec *Cæsar* executus est, sed *Pontifex*. Quin nullus tum *Pontifex summus*; Episcopus tantum *Romanus*; parvus ad *Romanum* tum *habebatur respectus*: alii Episcopi illum tum *fratrem et cœpiscopum* nominabant. Ita tum *Cyprianus* Episcopo Romano scribit; *Cyprianus, fratri Cornelio*. Ita *Dionysius Corinthius Stephano et Sixto, frater mi*. Ita *Marcellus, Julio Comministro*. Ita *Johannes Constantinopolitanus, Hormisdæ fratri*. Carthaginenses, *Innocentio, Bonifacio, Ephesini, Cœlestino, fratribus suis, Comministris suis*. *Frater autem, Consacerdos, Comminister, Cœpiscopus, societatis sunt et æqualitatis nomina*; *Summitas ibi nulla*.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE ROYAL SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

In Ecclesiastical Promotions and Judicature.

Q. To pass to the third mode in which the Regal Supremacy is exercised; are the Bishops of the Church of England *made* by the Sovereign?

A. No; no *earthly* power can *make* a Bishop. "Kings do not *make*¹, but only do *place*, Bishops²."

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Consecration makes a Bishop; the Royal grant places him. His beneficium is a Rege, but his officium is a Deo. His commission is from CHRIST; his permission to exercise it in special places, and over special persons, is from the Prince.

¹ The English Ordinal is entitled, "The Form and Manner of Making, &c. of Bishops," &c.

² HOOKER, VIII. VII. 1.

Q. Can you explain this more fully?

Above,
p. 301, 302.

A. A Bishop's power consists in two things: 1. in *Order*; and 2. in *Jurisdiction*¹. His power of *Order* is either *Episcopal*, and consists in Ordaining Priests and Deacons, in Confirmation, and other Apostolical acts; or it is *Sacerdotal*, and is exercised in the Preaching of the Word, and in the administration of the Sacraments; and this power of *Order* he receives wholly and exclusively from GOD, the Sacerdotal at his Ordination as Priest, the Episcopal at his Consecration as Bishop, and not before.

His *Jurisdiction* is partly of divine, partly of human origin.

¹ HOOKER, VI. II. 1. When the Apostle doth speak of ruling the Church of God, his words have evident reference to the power of *jurisdiction*: our Saviour's words to the power of *order*, when He giveth His disciples charge, saying, "Preach—Baptize—Do this in remembrance of Me."

Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection. Bishops have their authority to preach and minister the Sacraments, *not* from the Prince, but from Christ Himself; only the Prince giveth them publicke liberty, without let or disturbance, to do that which Christ commandeth.

Bp. SANDERSON, Episcopacy not prejudicial to Royal Power, p. 32, § ii. 12. All power, to the exercise whereof our Bishops have pretended, cometh under one of the two

heads, of *Order*, or of *Jurisdiction*. The power of *Order* CHAP. VII. consisteth partly in preaching the word and other offices of public worship, common to them with their fellow-ministers; partly in ordaining Priests and Deacons, admitting them to their particular cures, and other things, of like nature, peculiar to them alone. The power of *Jurisdiction* is either internal, in retaining and remitting sins *in foro conscientiae*, common to them also (for the substance of the authority, though with some difference of degree) with other *Ministers*; or external, for the outward government of the Church in some parts thereof peculiar to them alone. For that *external power* is either *Directive*, in prescribing rules and orders to those under their jurisdictions, and making Canons and constitutions to be observed by the Church, wherein the inferior Clergy, by their representatives in Convocation, have their votes as well as the *Bishops*; and both dependently upon the *King* (for they cannot either meet without his writ, or treat without his Commission, or establish without his Royal Assent): or *Judiciary* and *Coercive*, in giving sentence *in foro exteriore*, in matters of ecclesiastical cognizance,—excommunicating, fining, imprisoning offenders, and the like. Of these powers, some branches, not only in the exercise thereof, but even in the very substance of the power itself, (as namely that of external jurisdiction coercive,) are by the laws declared, and by the Clergy acknowledged to be wholly and entirely derived from the King, as the sole fountain of all authority of external jurisdiction, whether spiritual or temporal, within the realm, and consequently not of Divine Right.

Q. In what respects?

A. It is *divine* as far as it consists in the use of ^{Above,} the Keys, and in the *spiritual* superintendence of ^{pp. 302—} those under his care, *in foro conscientiae*. But the authority which he may possess over them *in foro exteriore*, (that is, by means of *civil* censures, or *secular* punishment in the *Exterior Court* ¹), is of *human* origin. St. Peter ² received the *Keys* from ^{Matt. xvi.} Christ, but was ordered by Him to *put up* the ^{19. xxvi. 52.}

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¹ Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. 272. We do not draw or derive any *spiritual* jurisdiction from the Crown ; but either liberty and power to exercise *actually* and *lawfully* upon the subjects of the Crown that *habitual* jurisdiction which we received at our ordination, or the *enlargement* of our jurisdiction *objectively* by the prince's referring more causes to the Church than it formerly had ; or, lastly, the increasing it subjectively, by their giving to ecclesiastical judges an external coercive power.—P. 129. We must distinguish between the interior and exterior court. The power which is exercised in the court of Conscience for binding and loosing is solely from *Ordination*. It is not the power of the Keys, or any part thereof, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, even in the exterior court, which is from the Crown ; but it is the application of the matter, the regulating the exercise of actual ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the outer court, to prevent oppression of their subjects, and to provide for the tranquillity of the commonwealth, which belongs to sovereign Princes.

See Bp. GIBSON'S Codex, p. 114, where it will be seen that the *secular* power is not possessed by a Bishop till his *Election* has been *confirmed* by the Metropolitan.

² Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 174. The word *Governor* doth sever the magistrate from the minister. Bishops be no governors of countries ; Princes be. Bishops bear not the sword to reward and revenge ; Princes do. This appeareth by the words of our Saviour, expressly forbidding His Apostles to be rulers over countries, and leaving it to princes. The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them ; and they that exercise authority over them are called Benefactors ; but ye shall not be so.—P. 175. Peter was sharply rebuked by Christ for using the sword ; and a Bishop must be no striker.

Matt. xx.

25.

Luke xxii.

25.

Matt. xxvi.

52.

1 Tim. iii. 3.

Tit. i. 7.

Q. But you said that a Bishop is *placed* in his See by the *Crown* ?

A. Yes ; the right of designation, nomination,

and presentation for confirmation of his election, ^{CHAP. VII.} for investiture, and for consecration¹, of the per-^{Above,} son whom they may judge most fit to hold the ^{P. 301, 302.} *temporalities* and to discharge the *duties of any particular see*, has, from time immemorial, been vested in the Kings of England.

¹ Bp. GIBSON, Codex, p. 110. STATUTE OF PROVISOIRS, 25 Edward III. A.D. 1350. GIBSON'S Codex, pp. 65, 66. Bp. STILLINGFLEET, Eccl. Cases, i. pp. 161. 313.

Q. Whence does it arise, that the Crown is entitled to *place* English Bishops?

A. From the nature of the office of Christian Kings, as God's Ministers for the general welfare of His People, and for the guardianship¹ of His Law, and from the ancient practice of the Catholic Church generally, and of the Church of England in particular; and because their sees were founded and endowed with their temporalities by Sovereigns of England. These Sees being all of the King's foundation, he is patron of them all².

¹ Bp. ANDREWES, Catechet. Doct. p. 301. It is the duty of Princes, who are *custodes utriusque tabulæ*, keepers of both tables, seeing they cannot perform the work of sanctification themselves, to take care that fit persons be provided and encouraged in this work. It's true, if a Prince were only *tanquam subulcus*, like a herdsman, that keepeth cattel, to ^{See above,} take care of men's *bodies*, and of their outward estate only, ^{p. 293, 294.} and that they wrong not one another by fraud or force, and had no charge of men's *souls*, nor of Religion, he might neglect this work; but seeing it is otherwise, and that the care of the Church is committed to him, and that the *soul is the principal part*, therefore it is his duty to see that fit and able persons be provided for this work, such as may be *doctores gentium*, teachers of the Nations.

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² HOOKER, VIII. III. 3. GROTIUS, de Summâ Potestate, pp. 263. 267. Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. pp. 401—408. Bp. GIBSON'S Codex, p. 104, note. See also VAN ESPEN, Jus Eccles. I. Tit. XIII. III. iv.

Q. But since it is provided by an Act of the Legislature, that “*if any Archbishop or Bishop refuse to consecrate the person elected or nominated within twenty days after such election is signified to him by the King's letters patent, he shall incur the pains and penalties of the statute and provision of Præmunire,*” may it not be asked,—on the principle *si vis scire an velim, effice ut possim nolle*,—are not Bishops virtually made as well as placed by the Crown? and is not, therefore, their mission human, and not divine?

A. No. First of all,—on the sound principle of the English Law, *Distingue tempora et concordabis Leges* (2 Inst. 256)—the *time and circumstances* of this statute¹ are to be considered. It was made A.D. 1533, for the *recovery* of the ancient and undoubted rights of the Crown and realm of England from the usurpation of the See and Court of Rome, which had then strong and active partizans in England. It was directed, not against *English Bishops*, acting in the discharge of a sacred duty, but, as its Preamble plainly declares, against *the Pope's* and the *Court of Rome's spiritual and secular usurpation and rapacity*².

And there are other important considerations connected with this statute.

¹ Act of *Præmunire*, 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20. A.D. 1533. GIBSON'S Codex, p. 107.

² See the Preamble. Where sithens the beginning of this

Parliament for the repress of the exaction of *Annates* and first-fruits of Archbishopricks and Bishopricks of the realme wrongfully taken by the *Bishop of Rome*, it is ordained that the payment of *Annates*, &c. or for any *Bulls*, &c. should cease. The statute (23 Henry VIII.) referred to in the Preamble recites that "great and inestimable sums of money have been daily conveyed out of this realme to the impoverishment of the same and especially such sums of money as the Pope's holiness, his predecessors, and the *Court of Rome* by long time have taken of all those spiritual persons which have been named, elected, presented, or postulated to be Archbishops or Bishops within the realme of England under the title of *Annates*, &c.—which they have been compelled to pay before they might receive any fruits of the said Archbishoprick or Bishoprick whereunto they were named—which *Annates* were first suffered to be taken within this realme for the only defence of Christian people against the infidels, and now they be claimed as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and conscience.

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Q. What are these considerations?

A. First of all, Kings are bound by their Oaths at their Coronation to "maintain the laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel; and to maintain and preserve inviolably the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church;" and their power is given them for the edification, and not for the destruction, of the Church; and, as *Bishops* are warned by the ¹ Tim. v. 22. Apostle not to be guilty of haste in laying on of hands ¹, so is it to be supposed that *Kings* will not dare to incur *that* guilt indirectly themselves, and to call on *others* to do so, by presenting to them improper persons for consecration.

Again, we must remember that a penal law of this kind, unjustly enforced, obliges *ad pœnam*, but not *ad culpam* ², and leaves the *consciences* of

PART III. the parties who are liable to the penalty where they were before.

Next it is to be observed, that in the case supposed, the choice is controuled by *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical* restraints.

¹ HOOKER, VIII. VII. 7.

² Bp. SANDESON, Prælect. viii. p. 228.

Q. What are these ?

A. The person ¹ nominated by the Crown must be above a stated age ; he must have received the holy Orders, first of Deacon and then of Priest (ordinarily after a year's probation as Deacon), from the Bishop ; and, *before* his ordination to the Priesthood, must have brought to the Bishop a testimonial signed by three or more Ministers of religion ; and have subscribed certain Articles of doctrine and discipline ; he must have taken certain oaths, and "have taken some Academic degree;" or "at *the least* be able to render an account of his faith in the Latin tongue;" he must have been examined, tried, and approved in learning and godliness by the spiritual authority ; and "if any Bishop shall have admitted any to Holy Orders who is not so qualified and examined," he is to be suspended from ordaining for two years ² ; so that we see the *foundation* of all his power is *spiritual* ; and further, it is justly observed, that this very statute of *Præmunire* affords a clear proof that the essence of the episcopal power in England is regarded by this statute as *spiritual* ; for by the very mention of *coercion* in the case supposed, it declares that *consecration* is *necessary* to constitute that power ³.

¹ 13 Eliz. c. 12. XXXIX ARTICLES. Canons of 1603, CHAP. VII.
 Canon xxxiv. Preface to Ordinal, in Book of Common Prayer. 3 Articles of Canon xxxvi. Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, and of Canonical Obedience.

F. MASON, in *Christian Institutes*, iv. p. 475.

² CANON XXXV.

³ FLOWDEN on the Constitution, p. 251.

Q. You said that one of the modes in which the Kings of England exercise their supreme authority over all persons in the Church is by *judicatio* in causes ecclesiastical: of what kind is this administration of justice?

A. It is partly *forensic* and partly *synodical*.

Q. How is it *forensic*?

A. In trying ecclesiastical causes not *in foro conscientie*, but *in foro exteriore*, and inflicting civil punishments in pursuance of spiritual censures ¹.

¹ Bp. BILSON, *Christian Subjection*, p. 327. We give princes no power to devise or invent new religions, to alter or change sacraments, to decide or debate doubts of faith, to disturb or infringe the canons of the Church.—P. 332. We never said that princes had any spirituall power, and the sword which they beare we never called but externall and temporall; for the true spirituall and eternal sword is the Word of God.

Q. How is it *synodical*?

A. In determining controversies after consideration had and report made of them by the Convocation of the Church; where the *judicium directivum* is in the Church, the *imperativum* in Rege.

Q. Has, then, the Crown the power of pronouncing on religious dogmas? and may it de-

PART III. clare one doctrine to be orthodox, and another heretical, as it thinks fit?

A. No. By the laws of England¹, "*nothing is to be adjudged heresy, but that which heretofore has been so adjudged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or the first four General Councils, or some other General Council, wherein the same hath been declared heresy by the express word of Scripture; or such as shall be termed heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the Clergy in Convocation.*" The Sovereign, therefore, pronounces, in all religious questions, not according to any *new principles*, but according to the *received religious laws* of the Church. He has *supreme power, according to the laws, but against* them, *none*. 'He can do nothing *against* the truth, but *for* the truth.' But for the trying of religious controversies the proper court, it is generally held, is that of the Bishop of the diocese, or of the Metropolitan of the province where the cause arises².

Above,
p. 312.

² Cor. xiii. 8.

¹ 1 Eliz. cap. i. A.D. 1558. Bp. GIBSON's Codex, pp. 48. 351. HOOKER, VIII. VIII. 3. The King judges not *of*, but *after* (i. e. *according to*) the Laws. JENK. Cent. 9. Rex non debet judicare sed *secundum Legem*. On the reception of the first four General Councils by the Church of England, see ROUTH Rel. Sacr. III. p. iv. note.

Bp. BILSON, Christian Subjection, p. 297. That princes may prescribe what faith they list, what service of God they please, what form of administering the Sacraments they think best, is *no part of our doctrine*; and yet that princes may by their laws prescribe the *Christian Faith* to be preached, the *right service of God* to be used, the Sacraments to be ministered according to the *Lord's institution*, this is no absurdity *in us to defend*.

Parliamentary Report on Rom. Cath. Subjects, pp. 129, 130. 1816.

Lord CLARENDON on Religion and Polity. It is the duty CHAP. VII.
of Sovereign Princes to preserve and provide for the advancement of religion, and for the due exercise of it, and devout reverence for it in their dominions. *As they cannot prescribe what laws they please, contrary to the laws of nature or of God, so they cannot impose what religion they please, contrary to what He has enjoined.*

² Bp. GIBSON's Codex, pp. 351. 353. The cognizance of Heresy and punishment of Heretics belongs to the Archbishop as Metropolitan of the Province, and to every Bishop within his own proper Diocese, who are to punish only by *Ecclesiastical* censures. *And so saith my Lord Coke, it hath been put in ure in all Queen Elizabeth's reign, and so it was resolved by the Chief Justice, Chief Baron, and two of the Justices upon Consultation, 9 Jac. 1, in the case of Legate.*—How far the Convocation of each province, which had once an undoubted right to convict and punish Heretics in a Synodical manner, doth still retain, or not retain, that right, I shall not presume to say, till the learned Judges be clear and final in their opinions.

PART IV.

Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE RIGHTS AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART IV.

Q. WHAT is meant by *Rites* and *Ceremonies*?

A. By *Rites* are meant religious observances, ordained by competent Authority.

Q. Why are they called *Rites*?

A. Because they are ῥητοί, i. e. *prescribed* or *ordered*.

Q. What do you mean by *Ceremonies*?

A. Solemn and sacred observances ¹.

¹ VOSSIUS, Etymol. Lat. p. 89, in v. Verisimilius longè Josephus Scaliger, qui censet *cerimonias* dici ab antiquo *cerus*, id est *sanctus*, unde in Saliari carmine *cerus*, *manus*, id est, *sanctus bonusque*. Ita à *cerus* erit *cerimonia*, ut à *sanctus* *sanctimonia*, à *castus* *castimonia*. Sunt et ejusdem generis *alimonia* et *querimonia*.

Q. In the terms *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, as here used, do you include the two Christian *Sacraments*?

A. No. These two Sacraments were “ordained by CHRIST Himself;” but by Rites and Ceremonies, I here mean sacred and solemn observances appointed by lawful *human* authority.

Q. What rules are to be observed by those who prescribe Rites and Ceremonies?

A. That they appoint nothing inconsistent with the Apostolic injunctions, *Let all things be done decently and in order*; and, *Let all things be done to edifying*, and for the promotion of the glory of God. Hence they must take care that the Rites which they ordain be reasonable and decorous, and, as much as may be, in conformity with the ancient practice of the Universal Church; and that Ceremonies, which are *commandments of men*, be not taught for *doctrines*, and enjoined as necessary to salvation¹.

1 Cor. xiv.
40. 26.
Rom. xiv.
19.
1 Cor. x. 31.

Matt. xv. 9.

¹ HOOKER, III. VII. 1. IV. I. 3. V. VI. 2. V. XXX. 2.
F. MASON, in *Christian Institutes*, iv. pp. 439—460.

Q. Whence do we ascertain the Rites and Ceremonies of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND?

A. From the Tables and Rules prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer, and from the *Rubrics* of the same.

Q. What is meant by a *Rubric*?

A. Properly, a law written in red letters (*rubris litteris*), as the titles of the Old Roman laws, and the ritual directions in the Prayer-Book formerly were.

Q. When were these Rubrics drawn up?

A. At the times of the promulgation of the Book of Common Prayer: in the reign of Edward VI. in 1549, 1550, 1552; in that of Queen

PART IV.

Elizabeth in 1560; of King James I. in 1604; and at the Restoration of King Charles II. in 1661.

Q. By whom were these Rubrics framed?

A. By Bishops and Presbyters of the Church.

Q. Do you think yourself bound in conscience to observe them, where competent authority or the necessity of the case does not exempt you from the observance?

A. Certainly.

Q. On what grounds?

A. Because they are laws made by the Community, both as a Church and a State, approved by the two Houses of Parliament, and ratified by Royal authority.

Q. How by it as a Church?

A. In Convocation¹ regularly assembled².

¹ PREFACE to the Book of COMMON PRAYER. Yet we have good hope, that what is here presented, and hath been by the *Convocations of both Provinces* with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England. See also the preamble of the Act of Uniformity, 1662, sect. 1. Upon mature and full deliberation the said Presidents (of the Convocations of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York), Bishops and Clergy of both Provinces, have reviewed the said Books (of Common Prayer, and of the Form and Manner of the Making and the Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons), &c.

² CANONS of 1603, Canons iv. xiv. xviii. xxxvi.

Q. How by it as a State?

A. In the High Court of Parliament.

Q. In what Statutes?

A. In the Acts of Uniformity passed in the

reigns of Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and CHAP. I.
Charles II.¹

¹ A.D. 1548. 1551. 1558. 1661. Bp. GIBSON'S Codex, pp. 259. 265. 267. 275.

Q. Is not the force of the Spiritual enactment weakened by this *Civil* sanction?

A. No. On the contrary, it is strengthened by it; *Lex humana, jubendo quod jubet lex divina, novam superaddit obligationem*¹. Therefore, when we obey the Rubric, we obey not only as *Christians*, but as *Citizens*; and he who *disobeys*, when God commands by the voice both of the State and of the Church, is *doubly* guilty; *apud homines pœnas luit, et apud Deum frontem non habebit*².

Jer. xxvii.
6. 8.

¹ Bp. SANDERSON, Prælect. v. 10. GROTIUS, de Sum. Potest. pp. 214. 244.

² S. AUG. cited by Grotius, 214, and de Verâ Relig. c. xxvi.

BARROW, iii. 288. It is a great mistake to think that the civil law doth anywise derogate from the ecclesiastical: their concurrence yieldeth an accession of weight and strength to each. Now that spiritual laws are backed by civil sanctions, the knot of our obligation is tied faster; and by disobedience to them we incur a double guilt, and offend God two ways, both as Supreme Governor of the world, and as King of the Church.

Q. You have specified the authority by which these Rites are ordered; but *in addition* to them may not the Ministers and members of a particular Church adopt Ceremonies from *ancient* or *foreign* Churches; such Ceremonies having been appointed by those Churches, as edifying and decorous?

A. No; *no private person*¹, lay or clerical, may

PART IV. introduce any thing into a Church on his own authority: it is not *his* province, but it is exclusively the office of the particular Church to which he belongs to decree the Ceremonies to be observed by its Members; and whether such additional Ceremonies, as you have mentioned, be derived from ancient or from modern practice, they are equally innovations and usurpations of the authority of the Church, and their introduction is equally irregular and presumptuous. It is not less an act of pride and disobedience in an individual to *introduce* into a Church what is *not* ordered by lawful authority, than to *despise* what *is*¹.

¹ BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. Of Ceremonies. Although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of common order and discipline is no small offence before God. "Let all things be done among you," saith St. Paul, "in a seemly and due order;" the *appointment* of the which order pertaineth not to *private men*; therefore *no man* ought to take in hand nor *presume to appoint or alter* any public or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereto.

² S. AUG. Regula ad Servos Dei, 3. (i. p. 1273.) Nolite cantare nisi quod *legitis* esse cantandum; quod autem ita scriptum est ut non cantetur, *non cantetur*.

HOOKE, V. LXXI. 7. We had rather glorify and bless God for the fruit we daily behold reaped by such ordinances as His gracious Spirit enableth the ripe wisdom of this *National Church* to bring forth, than vainly boast of *our own peculiar and private inventions*, as if the skill of profitable regiment had left her *public habitation* to dwell in retired manner with some few men of our liking; we make not our childish appeals sometimes from our own to *foreign Churches*, sometimes from both unto Churches *ancienter* than both are;

in effect always from all others to our own *selves*; but, as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence, and obey in the very next degree unto God the voice of the Church of God *wherein we live*. CHAP. II.

CHAPTER II.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Q. BUT may it not be said that—as these Rites and Ceremonies are *indifferent* things¹, and may vary in different Churches, and very reasonably and advantageously so², and may be changed from time to time in the same Church³—it is of little importance whether we conform to them or no?

A. If this were so, there would be an end of all human authority⁴. Things *indifferent* are properly those concerning which Almighty God *has not spoken* by any law, either *for* them or *against*: and *indifference* (ἀδιαφορία) is the special character of the legitimate objects of *human* law, as distinguished from *divine*; τὸ νομικὸν δίκαιον is that ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, ὅταν δὲ θῶνται, διαφέρει⁵. ‘In *mediis* rebus Lex posita est Obedientiæ.’ Thus the attitude of the body, and similar outward observances in Public Worship, may *in themselves* be matters of no *great moment*; (though even *natural Reason* tell us that certain states of the body are appropriate accompaniments and exponents of certain affections of the mind⁶, and tend to general edification⁷; and for the commendation of certain attitudes in devotion we

PART IV.

Luke xxii.
41.
Acts vii. 60.
Phil. ii. 10.
Eph. iii. 14.

Exod. xxii.
28.

Acts xxiii.

3. 5.

2 Pet. ii. 10.

Jude 8.

1 Tim. i. 4.

vi. 4. 20.

2 Tim. ii.

16. 23.

1 Cor. xiv.

33.

Tit. i. 10.

Matt. xxiii.

23.

Luke xi. 42.

have the authority of *Scripture Example*; and in the Public Worship of a Church discrepancy is to be deprecated, and *Uniformity* is greatly to be desired, as tending to promote *Unity*; and further, though this or *that particular* ceremony may be a matter of little moment, yet that *some* ceremonies there should be, is essential to the maintenance of Religion;) but *when* express laws *have* been duly made concerning these things, we are *no longer* free to do or omit them, as we please; for *Obedience* to *constituted Authority* is *so far* from being a matter of *Indifference*¹, that nothing is more destructive to a Community, and nothing more displeasing to God, Who is the Author not of confusion but of peace, than its *absence*. Besides this, if these things be, as some allege, matters of indifference, nothing can be more frivolous than wranglings concerning them. In a word, the fruits of *disputing*, instead of *obeying*, are contempt of lawful authority, loss of time and labour, detriment of peace and charity, and the neglect of the “weightier matters of the law”².

¹ S. AUGUST. ii. 186. 188. 291. (Epist. liv. lxxxii.)

BARROW, in Christian Institutes, iii. 157. F. MASON, *ibid.* iv. 463. 487. Bp. SANDERSON, *ibid.* iv. 574. BINGHAM, XVI. i. 15.

² S. IREN. ap. Euseb. v. 24. The *διαφωνία* in ceremonies in different Churches *τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν*. S. GREG. Mag. Ep. i. 43. In *unâ fide* nihil officit *Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa*. HOOKER, IV. XIII. 3.

³ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxiv. Of the Traditions of the Church. It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Every particular

or National Church hath authority to ordain, charge, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

⁴ PREFACE TO BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxiv.

⁵ ARISTOT. Ethic. v. 10. S. BERNARD, Ep. vii. CANONS of 1603. Can. xxx. Things of themselves indifferent do in some sort alter their natures, when they are either commanded or forbidden by a lawful magistrate, and may not be omitted at every man's pleasure, contrary to the law, when they be commanded, nor used when they are prohibited.

HOOKE, V. viii. 2. Matters ritual are the just province of authority.

⁶ HOOKE, V. xxx. 2. When we make profession of our faith, we *stand*; when we acknowledge our sins, we *fall down* because the gesture of constancy becometh us best on the one; in the other the behaviour of humility.—V. lxviii. 3. Our kneeling at Communions is a gesture of piety: what doth better beseech our bodies than to be sensible witnesses of minds unfeignedly humble?

⁷ HOOKE, VI. i. 3.

⁸ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxiv. F. MASON, in Christian Institutes, iv. 463, and notes. Bp. SANDERSON, *ibid.* pp. 557, 623, and W. Wall, *ibid.* p. 464.

⁹ HOOKE, V. xxxi. 1. By them which trouble us with these doubts, (i. e. concerning the propriety of wearing the *surplice*, and such like matters,) we would more willingly be resolved of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kind of taking God's name in vain, to debase religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour upon them. Things of so mean regard and quality, although *necessary* to be *ordered*, are *notwithstanding* very unsavoury when they come to be *disputed* of.

HOOKE, III. ix. 3. Unto laws made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the bosom of that Church must *not* think it a matter *indifferent* either to yield or not to yield obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the Church of God? "My son, keep thy father's commandment," saith Solomon, "and forget not thy mother's instruction; bind them both always about thy heart." It doth not

1 Cor. xi.

22.

Prov. vi. 20.

PART IV. stand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to the ordinances of our Mother the Church we should show ourselves disobedient. Let us not say we keep the commandments of the *one* when we break the law of the *other*; for unless we observe *both*, we obey *neither*.

Q. You say we must obey these laws; and you acknowledge that these laws are *human*; do then *human laws* bind the *conscience*?

A. Not *as human laws*¹: nothing but the law of *God* can do so; but all human laws, which are not contrary to the Divine law, can and do bind the conscience *indirectly*, by virtue of the Divine law, which *commands us to obey them*. Thus, in the case supposed, we are bound to conform to the Rubric, because God says in His Word, “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake.” For example, we are not bound in conscience to *kneel on account of any special virtue in the act itself*; but we are bound in conscience to *obey the lawful authority which enjoins us to do so*². Thus, in obeying the Rubrics of the Church, we do in fact obey God; *Cùm, Christo jubente, servis homini, non homini servis, sed Illi qui jussit*³; and in wilfully and obstinately disobeying them, we do in fact despise the WORD of GOD⁴.

James iv.
11, 12.

1 Pet. ii.
13—19.
Ephes. vi.
5, 6.
Col. iii. 23.
Tit. iii. 1.
Rom. xiii.
1—5.

¹ Bp. SANDERSON’S Prælections and Sermons, i. 302. ii. 177. iii. 10. Note in Christian Institutes, iii. p. 4.

² XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xx. The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies.

³ S. AUGUST. iv. 2018. 1028. 1056. v. 418.

⁴ HOOKER, V. viii. 4. Suppose we that the *Sacred Word of God* can at their hands receive due honour by whose incitement the *holy ordinances of the Church* endure open contempt? No; it is not possible that they should observe as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unnecessarily their own or their brethren’s obedience.

Q. It is not meant, I suppose, that we should obey *every* human ordinance, without reference to the nature of the thing commanded?

CHAP. II.
Exod. i. 15.
17.
Dan. iii. 13.
vi. 9.
1 Macc. i.
45. ii. 34.
2 Chron.
xv. 16.
Luke ii. 49.
Acts v. 29.

A. No; we are not to obey a human ordinance, if it be plainly *against* the *divine* law: we *are* to obey *Man* for the sake of God, but we *are not* to disobey God for the sake of man.

Q. But these Ceremonies of the Church are *not* enjoined in *Holy Scripture*; and does not, in the *language* of the Church, “*Holy Scripture contain* all things necessary to salvation?”

Art. vi.
Rom. xiii. 2.
Matt. xvii.
27. xxii. 21.
xxiii. 2, 3.
Luke iv. 16.
xvii. 14.
John x. 22.
Acts ii. 15.
iii. 1.

A. Yes. Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation; and of these necessary things *one* of the *very first* is obedience to lawful authority in all things not unlawful¹, *that is, in all things not contrary to the general laws of Nature and Reason, and to the positive ones of Holy Scripture*. And both the precept and example of our blessed Lord, Who was “obedient to the law for man,” is conclusive on this point².

¹ S. AUGUSTIN. Ep. 36, tom. ii. p. 101. In his rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura divina, mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.

S. HIERON. Ep. xxviii. ad Lucinium Bæticum. Ego illud te breviter admonendum puto, traditiones Ecclesiasticas (præsertim quæ fidei non officiant) ita observandas, ut à majoribus traditæ sunt: nec aliorum consuetudinem aliorum contrario more subverti. Sed unaquæque provincia abundet in suo sensu, et *præcepta majorum leges Apostolicas arbitretur*.

² HOOKER, II. VIII. 6, 7. III. VI. and III. VII. 2—4. III. XI. 14. V. LXX. 6. V. LXXI. 7.

Bp. ANDREWES on the Decalogue, pp. 209. 271.

Q. But if I have a *scruple* of *conscience* as to the lawfulness of a ceremony, ought I to conform to it?

A. It is true, certainly, that our conscience

Above,
p. 271, 272.

PART IV. *obliges* us, even when it *errs*; but then it does not exempt us from the *guilt* and *punishment* of error. Hence we must take all the care in our power, that our conscience *may not err*, but be rightly instructed and informed. And with this view we must consider, that lawful authority has *pronounced* a public judgment in *favour* of the Ceremony, by *ordering* it; and in Christian charity, humility, and discretion, we shall not be disposed to doubt that this *public judgment* is *worth* more than our own *private opinion*. Our *private conscience* must remember that the *public conscience* is better than itself¹; and it ought, therefore, to endeavour to bring itself into *conformity* with it. Next, we must bear in mind, that the thing is *established*, and for the sake of peace ought not to be stirred by private persons, *without urgent necessity*; that the order, which enjoins the observance, is the judgment of the competent authority, to which, by God's Word, we owe *obedience* in all things *not* clearly unlawful, "not only for wrath but also for *conscience* sake;" that the *command* is *clear*, but our *exemption* is *not* so; (and 'in *dubiis* rebus *tutior* pars est eligenda;') and lastly, that there are many things which it may not be expedient for *others* to *command*, in which, notwithstanding, when they *are* commanded, it is very necessary for *us* to *obey*².

Rom. xiii. 5.

Jer. xxxv.

16.

1 Peter ii.

13—20.

¹ HOOKER, IV. I. 12. Their sentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppose their *me-thinketh* to the *Orders* of the Church of England.

² S. AUG. c. Faust. Man. xxii. 75. Reum facit superiorem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem subditum ordo serviendi.

Bp. ANDREWES on the Decalogue, p. 340.

Q. But does not St. Paul say, "Let every one be *fully persuaded in his own mind*;" and, "whatsoever is not of *faith* is sin?"

CHAP. II.

Rom. xiv. 5.
23.

A. St. Paul is there speaking of indifferent matters, that is, of matters not prescribed or forbidden by God, and on which the *lawful public authority* had pronounced *no judgment*, and in which, therefore, every one was at liberty to do what in his own conscience he thought best¹; but where such public authority *has* pronounced its judgment, he condemns those who resist it in the following words, "If any man *thinks fit* (*δοκεῖ*) to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God:" and "whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." 1 Cor. xi. 16. Rom. xiii. 2.

¹ HOOKER, IV. XII. 6, 7,

Q. But if I *give scandal* or *offence* to others by compliance, am not I guilty of want of *charity* if I comply, when St. Paul says, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth;" and, "It is good to do nothing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak?"

1 Cor. viii.
13.
Rom. xiv.
21.

A. St. Paul is speaking of things, by abstinence from which he *sacrificed* his *own appetite* and not *public authority*. The former is right, but not the latter. And, with respect to *giving scandal*, it is not possible for us to give *greater scandal* to the weak, than by teaching them disobedience to authority by an *example* of *resistance* to it; and *this* too in a matter of *Religion*. *This* is indeed to make our brother to offend. And this is to give scandal not only to our *weak* brethren, but to the *strong*, both among our fellow-subjects and our

PART IV. governors; for our *governors* are *brethren* too, and something more, and *obedience* is *charity* too, and something more: and, lastly, it is to offend *our own consciences*, and to disobey God ¹.

¹ XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xxxiv. Of the Traditions of the Church. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, *hurteth the authority of the magistrate*, and *woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren*.

HOOKE, III. IX. 3. The laws thus made, God doth Himself in such sort authorize, that to despise *them* is to despise *Him*. Bp. TAYLOR on Scandal, Life of Christ, § xiii. 7.

Q. But may scandal be never lawfully given?

A. No. Scandal *can never* be lawfully given, but it *is not seldom* unlawfully taken. A scandal means a stumbling-block; and *Christ* Himself was a stumbling-block to the Jews. The Pharisees were *offended* (ἐσκανδαλίσθησαν) by His words, yet He did not desist from preaching ¹. St. Paul speaks of the *offence* of the cross, yet it was not to *cease*; and he says, "God forbid that I should *glory*, save in the *cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ." Offence may be *taken*, where none is *given*; and offence *not justly* taken hurteth none but the taker.

Luke ii. 34.
1 Cor. i. 23.
1 Pet. ii. 8.
Matt. xiii.
57. xv. 12.
Rom. ix. 33.
Gal. v. 11.
vi. 14.

¹ THEOPHYL. in S. Luc. xiii. Οὐ τοῦτο ἐσκόπησεν ὁ Χριστὸς, ὅπως μὴ σκανδαλίσῃ αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὅπως εὐεργετήσῃ τὸν θεραπείας δεόμενον· δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ἐνθὰ ὠφέλεια ἀνακύπτει πολλή, μὴ φροντίζειν τῶν ἀνοήτως σκανδαλιζομένων.

TERTULLIAN de Vel. Virg. 3. *Bonæ res neminem scandalizant nisi malam mentem.*

HOOKE, IV. XII.

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